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PIUS VI. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

II.

THE encroachments on the liberties of the Church and the interference in ecclesiastical matters which had distinguished the administration of Tanucci were continued under that of the Marquis della Sambuca, a Sicilian nobleman who had been for some years Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, and whom Queen Maria Carolina selected as less likely to be under the influence of the King of Spain. His opposition to the unimpeded exercise of the authority of the Holy See was quite as decided as that of his predecessor, for not only was the Royal *Exequatur* still declared to be required before a Papal brief containing a dispensation could be admitted into the country, but it was also enacted that it should not be granted unless the King's permission to apply to Rome for the dispensation had been previously obtained.[1] A list was even published in 1778 of the various matters for which it had always been customary to apply to Rome for a dispensation, and it was notified that for no less than 78 of these leave to do so would thenceforth be refused. In pursuance of the same policy the provincials of the mendicant orders were prohibited in the following year from receiving novices for the space of ten years; a number of religious houses were suppressed in Calabria

[1] Rev. Ilario Rinieri, S. J., "Della Rovina di una Monarchia," Torino, 1901. Introduzione, p. lxi.

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in 1783, and four convents of the Olivatan Order in Sicily were closed in 1784 and their revenues confiscated. The right of nomination to twenty-five sees in the Kingdom of Naples had been granted by Pope Clement VII. to the Emperor Charles V., but Ferdinand claimed the right of nominating to every see, abbey or benefice by a simple decree, and up to the year 1779 about three hundred such decrees had already been issued. In fact, under the influence of della Sambuca the Neapolitan Church had been so much disorganized and so much discontent and insubordination excited among the religious orders, that the kingdom was rapidly drifting into a schism; the more so because some of the Bishops, through pusillanimity or from interested motives, sided with the King and submitted without resistance or protest to his aggressions on the rights of the Church.[2]

The result was that many sees remained vacant, as the Sovereign Pontiff refused to accept the ecclesiastics nominated by the Crown, and della Sambuca went so far as to say that he would have their spiritual jurisdiction conferred on them by a synod of Neapolitan Bishops; but as those whom he consulted on the matter pointed out to him that the people would refuse to acknowledge prelates who had not been lawfully appointed by the Holy See, he desisted from his project.[3]

As all the conditions stipulated by the Concordat of 1741 had been thus disregarded and broken by the Neapolitan Government, Pius VI. in 1782 sought to induce King Ferdinand to revise it and to come to a new agreement which should restore order in the Church and terminate the disputes with regard to the collation of benefices. Della Sambuca, however, delayed so long before replying to this proposal that the Pope perceived that his object was to make still further inroads on the liberties of the Church, and then to have them accepted as established rights before coming to any understanding with Rome.[4]

What Pius VI. had foreseen came to pass when, in 1785, he again made overtures to the Neapolitan Government, for the Minister demanded as a preliminary to any discussion that the Sovereign Pontiff should first approve of all the usurpations of the Crown and the regulations with regard to ecclesiastical matters which had been enacted up to that time, and his insistance on this condition put an end to the negotiations.[5]

The career of the Sicilian statesman was, however, drawing to its close, since for some time he had had a dangerous rival at the Court of Naples, who finally succeeded in supplanting him. This

[2] *Ibid*, p. lxix.
[3] Rinieri, *ibid*, p. lxix.
[4] *Ibid*, p. lxiii.
[5] *Ibid*, pp. 13-22.

was John Edward Acton, usually known as le Chevalier or General Acton, born at Besançon, where his father, a descendant of a younger branch of an old Shropshire family, the Actons of Aldenham Hall, and who had accompanied the historian Gibbon on his travels as his physician, had established himself and married. His son had entered the French navy, but having been disappointed with regard to promotion, he left it and entered the service of Leopold I., Grand Duke of Tuscany. Having been given the command of a frigate in 1773, he distinguished himself in several encounters with the Corsairs of the North African States, and especially in the Spanish expedition led by Count O'Reilly against Algiers in 1775. There he commanded the two vessels sent by Tuscany, and by the daring with which he took up a dangerous position and the skill with which he directed the fire of his ships, he rescued the Spanish army, which had been surrounded by the Moors.[6] Invited to Naples in 1778 by Ferdinand IV., he was soon named Minister of Marine, and in that capacity displayed much activity. He built dockyards, founded a naval academy and soon created a fleet of four ships of the line, ten frigates and 128 smaller vessels. The Ministry of War was then entrusted to him, when he reorganized the Neapolitan army, which he raised to 50,000 men, and shortly afterwards the administration of the finances of the kingdom was placed in his hands.

The control which the King of Spain exercised over Neapolitan affairs and of which the prosecution of the Freemasons had been a consequence, was the chief cause of the hostility which soon arose between della Sambuca and Acton, for della Sambuca, a diplomatist of the old school,[7] was inclined to follow Tanucci's example and submit in everything to the dictates of Charles III., while Acton sought to render King Ferdinand independent of his father. This policy was also that of Queen Maria Carolina, who, guided by her brothers, Joseph and Leopold, aimed at replacing the influence of Madrid by that of Vienna. The dispute soon became still more embittered and two parties were formed at the court—the Spaniards, or partisans of Charles III., and the anti-Spaniards, or "Royalists," who wished to see the King freed from all foreign interference.[8] Charles III. made

[6] Antonio Zobi, "Storia Civile della Toscana," Firenze, 1850. Vol. II., p. 210.

[7] J. A. von Melfert, "Zeugenyerhor über Maria Karolina," in Archiv. fur Osterreichischer Geschichte, 1879. Vol. LVIII., p. 293.

[8] A. von Arneth, "Joseph II. und Leopold von Toscana. Ihr Briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790." Wien, 1872. Vol. I., p. 304. Léopold à Joseph, 15 October, 1785: "La cabale ourdie contre Acton et contre la Reine a Sambuca et presque tous les seigneurs de la Cour à la tête, et tous les Siciliens, et ce qui s'appelle à Naples le parti Espagnol qui y est fort nombreux." P. 314, 23d Nov., 1705. The same to the same: "Le parti de Sambuca est victorieux, domine et menace tout le monde, quoique le Roi le haïssa: Seton a la fièvre continuelle et ne demande que son congé."

every effort to induce his son to send away General Acton, of whose desire to establish friendly relations with England and Austria rather than with France and Spain he was well aware,[9] while Joseph II. assured the Queen that the dismissal of the general would be an act of injustice and of shameful weakness in the face of all Europe.[10] The complicated network of intrigues to which for some years this quarrel gave rise and in which the principal courts of Europe took part, caused at last della Sambuca to offer his resignation on January 3, 1786. It was at once accepted, and the Marquis Domenico Caracciolo, then Viceroy of Sicily, was named in his place as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, while Acton and the Marquis de Marco, the Minister of Justice and of Ecclesiastical Affairs, a bitter enemy of Rome, were given seats at the Council of State.[11]

The Marquis Caracciolo (1715-1789) belonged to a younger branch of the house of the Princes of Avellino, and before he was sent to govern Sicily he had been for some years Ambassador in London and in Paris. From the former of these two capitals he seems to have brought away only unfavorable impressions,[12] but in Paris he found himself in more congenial surroundings among philosophers and encyclopedists such as d'Alembert Holback, Helvetius, whose works he had studied and with whom he had corresponded. His opinions agreed fully with theirs, for he was heard to boast that if he should ever become Minister at Naples he would know how to emancipate the kingdom from Rome, and it was said at the time that his promotion to the Viceroyalty of Sicily was due

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[9] Greg. Vlad. Orlov, "Mémoires historiques—sur le Royaume de Naples." 1819, Vol. II., p. 165: "L'Antriche et l'Angleterre devinrent les seules puissances qui furent accueillies avec intérêt et considérees à la Cour de Naples; les agents de l'Espagne et de la France n'y éprouvaient que des refus et souvent des insultes."

[10] A. von Arneth, "Joseph II. und Leopold von Toscana. Ihr Briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790." Wien, 1872. Vol. I., p. 226. Joseph to the Queen of Naples, 10 Sept., 1784: "Le renvoi d'Acton sans raison serait un acta d'injustice et de faiblesse déshonorante pour le Roi à la face de toute l'Europe et dont je ne le crois pas capable, surtout n'dyant aucune raison d'avoir peur de son père."

[11] Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 160. "Il Marchese de Marco era come invaso d'una vera mania furiosa contro Roma e contro le leggi ecclesiastiche . . . aver messo a capo della direzione dell'ecclesiastico un tal uomo, fû per la monarchia borbonica il fallo che arrecò le pûi funeste consequense; egli tra i ministri era il consigliere pûi ascoltato da Ferdinando."

Bourgoin, "Mémoires sur Pie VI," t. II., p. 73. (De Marco) formé à l'école de Tanucci, créature du Chevalier Acton, avait pour tout talent une avengle docilité aux volontés de ce ministre suprème, de la duplicité, et pour la Cour de Rome un grand fon et de malveillance qu'il prenait pour de la philosophie."

[12] Caracciolo told King George III. that the moon at Naples was brighter than the sun at London, and he used to say that he had found in England nothing polished but steel and no other ripe fruit than baked apples.

to the secret action of "les philosophes" whose influence extended over all Europe and had been brought to bear on the Queen of Naples.[13]

After delaying his departure from Paris for a year, Caracciolo landed in Sicily towards the end of 1781, and in accordance with the mania for sweeping away every trace of the past and reducing society to a dead level of equality under the absolute authority of the Crown, which was characteristic of the theoricians of the philosophical school, he at once set about reforming the ancient institutions of the island, where, along with much that was defective, there existed a considerable amount of municipal and administrative independence.[14] Some of his measures, such as the prohibition of burial in churches and the repression of the arbitrary and excessive authority of the nobles over their vassals, were, no doubt, advantageous to the country, but his contempt for the traditions and usages of the people as well as the sarcastic tone which he affected when treating of religious matters, irritated the Sicilians, a thoroughly Catholic people, and he left Palermo to return to Naples, followed by their hatred and their execrations.[15]

Although Caracciolo was nominally Prime Minister, he had but little authority in the management of affairs, for the influence of the Queen supported Acton, whose views agreed with hers, and she would have wished to add the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to those which he already held, but the King refused to place so much power in the hands of one man, and Caracciolo, aged and of an indolent disposition, was never anything but a tool in the hands of his more energetic and enterprising colleague.[16]

When Caracciolo entered upon his new functions no less than five out of twenty-one Archbishoprics and twenty-nine out of one hundred and ten Bishoprics were vacant in the Kingdom of Naples.[17]

[13] Isidoro La Lumia, "Studii di Storia Siciliana." Palermo, 1870. Vol. II., p. 555.

[14] La Lumia, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

[15] Tivaroni, "L'Italia prima della Rivoluzione Francese," p. 457.

[16] Melfert, *op. cit.*, p. 308: "So wurde Caracciolo mehr zum Schein als erster Minister kingestellt während die eigentliche Secle des Cabinets Acton war." P. 362, Baron Thugut, the Austrian Ambassador at Naples, to Joseph II., 9 Dec., 1787: "La Reine me faisant l'honneur de me parler du Marquis Caracciolo et daignant me prévenir que la part qu'il avait à l'administration était absolument nulle, sa Majesté se laissa aller si dire qu'on ne l'avait mis à la place qu'il occupait, que parce qu'il n'avait pas été faisable d'ajouter d'abord ce département aux autres qu'on avait confrès a M. Acton . . . il est de fait que jouissant de toute la confiance de la Reine avec une sorte de certitude de faire adopter à sa Majesté toutes ses idées et la Reine étant à peu près sûre de pliar le Roi tôt out tard à toutes ses volontés, ce Ministre même dans ce moment-ci dispose à peu de chose presqu'arbitrairement de toutes les affaires de ce Royaume."

[17] M. Schipa, "Un Ministro Napoletano del Secolo XVIII." Published in the "Archivis Storico delle provincia Napoletane," anno 21, p. 708.

There had been no Papal Nuncio since the death of Mgr. Vicentini, in 1779, and no communication with the Holy See could take place except by the authorization of some Crown official.[18]

The new Minister, who in spite of his reputation as a freethinker seems to have been less hostile to the Church than his predecessor and was more of a statesman, saw the necessity of reëstablishing better relations with the Sovereign Pontiff. He therefore readily listened to the suggestion of Mgr. Domenico Pignatelli, Bishop of Caserta, and informed the Abbate Servanzi, who had remained in Naples as secretary of the Nunciature, that he would be willing to come to an understanding with Rome, but at the same time did not conceal from him that the King was resolved to obtain the right of nominating to all the Bishoprics without exception.[19]

The proposal was immediately accepted by Pius VI., who in a letter to the Queen expressed his desire to come to an amicable agreement which should put an end to the misunderstandings and disputes which had so long existed between the two powers, and Mgr. Caleppi, an experienced diplomatist, who had been secretary to the Nuncios in Poland and in Austria, was sent to treat with the Minister at Naples, where he arrived on June 25, 1786. Lest, however, the Papal Government should be too hopeful of obtaining favorable terms, an edict drawn up by Caracciolo in the King's name was published a few days later, which asserted that the obedience of the religious orders to generals who resided outside the kingdom was an abuse which the King had lawful authority to reform, and that therefore the regular clergy of the two Sicilies should thenceforth be independent of their foreign generals and be subject, with regard to spiritual matters, to the Bishops of their respective dioceses. As, however, this decree had been signed by the King among other papers and published without his permission, he ordered its execution to be suspended on being appealed to by the Holy Father.

It would be impossible to give more than a very rapid sketch of the tedious negotiations which ensued and which lasted for nearly two years. Mgr. Caleppi had been instructed by Cardinal Buoncompagni, the Papal Secretary of State, to place great confidence in General Acton and be guided by his advice. But Acton was thoroughly devoted to the Queen and undertook nothing without her authorization.[20] He was, moreover, accused of wishing to prolong the negotiations as much as possible or even to break them off, as the revenues of the vacant sees and abbeys had been assigned to him for the purpose of augmenting the navy.[21]

[18] Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[19] Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[20] Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[21] Schipa, *op. cit.*, p. 720.

Four subjects were to be treated by the representatives of the Holy See and of the Neapolitan Government—the right of nominating Bishops, the dependence of the religious orders on their superiors in Rome, the jurisdiction exercised by the Papal Nuncio and the collation of benefices and abbeys.[22] From the beginning of the discussions Pius VI. showed himself willing to sacrifice many pecuniary advantages hitherto enjoyed by the Holy See, such as the contribution paid by the city of Naples to the Church of St. Peter, and the *spogli* or the property left by Bishops and Abbots at their deaths, which had always been claimed by the Papal Treasury. He was also willing, in the case of a vacant see, to allow the King to propose three candidates, from whom the Pope should select one, but the King refused to make any concession with regard to the Nuncio's jurisdiction and insisted on the right to name every prelate.

The Queen and the Marquis de Marco would seem to have been responsible for the obstinacy with which the King insisted on what he had been taught to look upon as the inalienable rights of the Crown, and though Caracciolo showed some inclination to conclude a Concordat which should be advantageous to the Church as well as to the State, his advice could not prevail against the influence of the Queen. Maria Carolina was guided in her resistance to Rome by the counsels and the example of her brothers, the Emperor of Austria and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. She was, moreover, glad to displease the Kings of France and of Spain, who were both anxious to see friendly relations established between Rome and Naples, and, as Mgr. Caleppi soon discovered, she supported the party which was opposed to any understanding with Rome and was the real obstacle to any concession.

Among the suggestions made on the Neapolitan side and apparently more with the hope of exhausting Mgr. Caleppi's patience than as a serious basis for a negotiation, was that of the formation of a *Giunta Ecclesiastica,* or Ecclesiastical Board, which should be empowered to hear appeals from the Bishops; to reform the rules of the monastic orders; to close religious houses; to dissolve marriages and grant dispensations within certain degrees of consanguinity. Neither this plan nor any of the many others put forward by Caracciolo were acceptable, while any concession which he made was speedily annulled by the King, who still maintained his original claims. At last Mgr. Caleppi left Naples for Rome in April, 1787, to ask for further instructions, and on his return he was again met with the same proposals, drawn up, it is true, in a slightly modified form, but the acceptance of which would have deprived the Holy See of all jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Naples, although Pius VI.

[22] Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

yielded both with regard to the *Giunta Ecclesiastica* and to the vacant Bishoprics, so far as to be willing to reserve to himself only the right of setting aside those nominees of the King's whom his conscience should oblige him to reject. The Holy Father also offered to share with the King and with the Bishops the right of collation to abbeys and benefices, but Ferdinand looked upon these very modest reservations as incompatible with his sovereign rights, and Caracciolo protested that the claims of the Papacy were opposed to the mode of thinking of the eighteenth century.

In spite of this evident ill-will and bad faith of the Neapolitan Government, Pius VI. still entertained so great a desire to establish friendly relations with Naples that when General Acton let it be understood that a visit from the Papal Secretary of State might facilitate the negotiations, Cardinal Buoncompagni left Rome for Naples without delay. His journey, however, was useless, as the King refused to allow the Holy Father even the right of rejecting the prelates of the *Giunta* whom he might consider unfit, and the Cardinal returned to Rome without having obtained any concession, while Caracciolo lamented his powerlessness in the matter, and Acton spread everywhere the report that the fault lay with Rome. He even accused Mgr. Caleppi of bad faith, on which the Pope immediately recalled his envoy, who brought his mission to a close in January, 1788.

The negotiations were, however, carried on by correspondence during the remainder of the year, as the Holy Father still entertained the hope of conquering the King's obstinacy; but he could not sanction the spoliation of the Church of which Ferdinand had been guilty by usurping the right of collation to no less than 758 benefices, in defiance of the laws of the Church, of the Concordat of 1741, of the protestations of the Bishops and of the last testaments of the founders of these pious works, which had been arbitrarily set aside. Nevertheless the Neapolitan Government soon flung off even the slight disguise of moderation it had hitherto shown in its dealings with the Holy See, for in September, 1788, the decree declaring the religious orders independent of all superiors residing abroad, which had been issued and then withdrawn in 1786, was definitively published, owing, it was said, to the influence of de Marco, and the regular clergy were also forbidden by the same decree to send representatives to congregations or chapters assembled in a foreign country, or even to hold a chapter within the kingdom without first obtaining permission from the King, who would then appoint a Bishop or some other dignitary as president.

The last act of discourtesy towards the Holy See for which the Marquis Caracciolo was responsible as Minister, though he most

probably acted in obedience to the will of Queen Maria Christina, was the refusal to perform the act of homage to the Sovereign Pontiff as feudal Suzerain of Naples, known as the presentation of *la chinea,* or white horse.

The origin of this ceremony is uncertain. It has been ascribed according to some to the fealty sworn by the victorious and repentant Normans to St. Leo IX. in 1053 after they had defeated his army and made him prisoner at Civitate in the province of Capitanata,[23] and by others to the investiture granted by Nicolas II. at Melfi in 1059 to Robert Guiscard of Apulia and Calabria, which he had already won from the Greek Emperor as well as of Sicily, from which he hoped to expel the Greeks and the Mahomedans.[24] The tribute of "12 denarii of the coinage of Pavia" for each yoke of oxen in the conquered territory which was then imposed was changed more than once by succeeding Popes and took its latest form in 1521, when Leo X., on conferring investiture of the two Sicilies on the Emperor Charles V.,[25] fixed it at 7,000 golden ducats and a white horse, to be presented every year on the vigil of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul.

It was usually the head of the House of Colonna, the High Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, who represented the King on the occasion of this ceremony, when the white horse, covered with splendid trappings and carrying a silver casket containing the tribute, was led in state, escorted by the Swiss Guard and saluted by the guns of the Castle of St. Angelo, from the Palazzo Colonna to the doors of the Basilica of St. Peter's, where it was presented to the Holy Father, while the Prince pronounced the formal declaration of fealty.

A dispute between the servants of the Governor of Rome, those of the Spanish Ambassador and those of Prince Colonna, which arose during the procession of the white horse in 1776 with regard to a question of precedence, served Tanucci as a pretext for advising King Ferdinand to refuse to perform again this public act of homage, and for the future to present the 7,000 ducats privately and merely as a proof of his devotion to the Holy Apostles. Tanucci fell from power shortly afterwards, to be succeeded by della Sambuca, and at the request of the Pope the King of Spain persuaded his son to yield; the procession of the *chinea* therefore continued to take place with the usual pomp until the year 1788, when, under the Ministry of Caracciolo, acting most probably at the bidding of Maria Carolina, it

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[23] Moroni, "Dizionario Ecclesiastico-istorico," Vol. XXXVIII., p. 31.

[24] Abbé Odon Delars, "Les Normands en Italie," Paris, 1883, p. 323.

[25] Card. Stefano Borgia, "Breve Istoria del dominio della Sede Apostolica nelle Due Sicilie," p. 228.

was decided that though the 7,000 ducats should still be paid as an offering to St. Peter, the presentation of the *chinea* and the acknowledgment of vassalage to the Sovereign Pontiff should cease. The ducats were duly offered by the Neapolitan Ambassador, but were declined by the Pope, who protested solemnly in St. Peter's against the refusal of the King of Naples to perform his obligations, stating that in his anxiety to restore peace to the Church he had made concession after concession till only two questions remained to be settled, but that the Neapolitan Government had broken off the negotiations and refused even to answer his letters; and this protest was renewed every year during the reign of Pius VI.

In the month of September Mgr. Servanzi, the secretary of the Nunciature at Naples, who had been charged by the Holy Father to present two briefs to persons engaged in a matrimonial suit, and who had not demanded the Royal *Exequatur,* was expelled from the kingdom at forty-eight hours' notice, and indeed his presence was no longer required in a country which had ceased to have any bond of union with Rome and was not far from declaring itself as independent of the Holy See as England.

The expulsion of Mgr. Servanzi was followed by other acts of arbitrary intervention in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, for as the Holy Father refused to appoint prelates to fill the vacant sees, the Archbishops were ordered to place them under the control of the neighboring Bishops. Happily the great majority of the Neapolitan episcopacy resisted these innovations and spoke frankly on the subject to the King, who, it is but just to say, showed himself less hostile to the Church than his Ministers and respected them for their courage; but the spoliation of the religious houses still continued, with the object especially of providing funds for the army and navy, while pamphlets hostile to the Holy See and to religion were allowed to circulate freely throughout the kingdom. The state of disorder which prevailed everywhere at last alarmed Caracciolo, whose eyes were beginning to be opened by the events which were just then taking place in France to the practical results of the doctrines of his friends, the "Philosophers." He again begged of Cardinal Buoncompagni to help him to find some issue from the deadlock, and Pius VI. expressed his willingness to make still further concessions; but the Minister who in Naples had not shown himself to be as hostile to the Church as he professed to be when in Paris died suddenly on July 16, 1789, and was succeeded as Secretary for Foreign Affairs by Acton, who thus, at last, concentrated all power in his hands.

Caracciolo's death was soon followed by the resignation of Cardinal Buoncompagni, who was succeeded by Cardinal Zelada, and negotiations were reopened with Naples regarding the important

questions of spiritual jurisdiction which had been under discussion, leaving aside for another occasion the tribute and the *chinea*. There were points on which Pius VI. could not yield, such as the power of hearing appeals exercised by the Nuncio at Naples, and the right of rejecting among the Bishops named by the King, or the persons selected to form part of the *Giunta Ecclesiastica*, those whom he should consider to be unworthy of the dignity, but the King and his Ministers still refused to give way and insisted on what they called the inalienable rights of the Crown.

It was only after long and tedious discussions that a compromise was at last effected in April, 1791, when Ferdinand and Maria Carolina, returning from a visit to Vienna, passed a few days in Rome, at which time more than half the sees in the Kingdom of Naples were vacant. Pius VI. then consented, for that occasion only and while a new Concordat was being prepared, to allow the King to nominate to the vacant sees, reserving to himself the canonical institution, the expedition of the bulls and the consecration, and without renouncing the right of rejecting those candidates whom he should deem to be unworthy. The new Concordat was never drawn up, and Ferdinand, or rather, perhaps, his Ministers and the Queen, dishonestly sought to render permanent a purely temporary concession, in return for which they had yielded nothing. They sent, indeed, General Acton to negotiate at Castellone, a town on the Neapolitan frontier, with Cardinal Campanelli; but, though the Holy Father again made considerable sacrifices with regard to the payments made to Rome by certain benefices, and to which the King laid claim, he still demanded the maintenance of the appellate jurisdiction exercised by the Nuncio and the reëstablishment of the presentation of the *chinea*. The offers made by Pius VI. were, however, of no avail; they were met on the part of the King by an obstinate refusal to yield anything in return or even to allow the Pope to reserve to himself matrimonial causes or matters connected with the professions of members of monastic orders unless they had been remitted to him by the Crown. With regard to the *chinea* he gave, indeed, a vague assurance that he might satisfy the Pope's demands, but he refused to include it in the Concordat.

The negotiations were therefore broken off at the end of July, 1792, and the envoys separated without having come to any conclusion. But the Court of Naples had soon to face an enemy far more dangerous than the Holy See, against whose influence in the kingdom it thought necessary to take such precautions; for whilst it was engaged in crushing the liberty of the Church and plundering religious houses, it neglected to take note of the progress made by Freemasonry, which after the fall of Tanucci had spread rapidly among

all classes of society, and by its secret machinations was preparing the downfall of the monarchy.

Not only the House of Bourbon, but every Catholic ruler in Europe during the eighteenth century seemed anxious to establish in his dominions a national church independent of the Holy See, but subject to the absolute authority of the State and deprived as much as possible of all outward splendor and ceremonial. Nowhere was this mania for interfering in matters of ecclesiastical discipline carried out with such intolerance and pedantry as in Austria under the Emperor Joseph II. and in Tuscany under the Grand Duke Leopold I. The House of Lorraine, to which these princes belonged, had inherited Tuscany in 1737 on the death of Gaston, the last of the Medici, and in accordance with the terms of the treaty made in 1736 at the end of the war between France, Spain and Austria for the succession to the throne of Poland. It was then decided that Tuscany should be given to Francis Stephan, Duke of Lorraine, as compensation for his hereditary duchy, which was assigned to Stanislas Leczinsky, the unsuccessful candidate to the Polish Crown and the father-in-law of Louis XV. Francis had married in 1736 Maria Teresa, daughter of Charles VI., Emperor of Austria, whose death in 1740 was followed by the war for the succession of Austria. At its close in 1745 he was elected Emperor, and thenceforth Tuscany was governed by a Council of Regency until his death in 1765, when his second son, Peter Leopold (1747-1792), was installed as Grand Duke.

The Republic of Florence and its successors, the Medici, had generally entertained friendly relations with Rome, but with the accession of the family of Lorraine various restrictions were imposed on the liberty of the Church, in accordance with the tendency then prevailing in Europe to eliminate as much as possible the influence of religion over society and replace it by that of the State. With the arrival of Leopold a still greater impulse was given to this movement, for the new ruler in his childhood had been intended for the Church, and to the theological instruction which he then received, and which was strongly tinctured with the Febronian opinions in favor at the Court of Vienna has been sometimes ascribed the passion which he showed for legislating in purely ecclesiastical matters lying outside the jurisdiction of the secular power. In other respects Leopold's administration of his small territory was distinguished by many useful reforms. A number of minor tribunals were suppressed and their powers centralized in a Supreme Court of Justice; legal procedure was simplified and the laws were rendered more humane by the abolition of torture and of the punishment of death; agriculture was relieved from many oppressive tolls and burdens; roads

were opened which facilitated the communications between the duchy and the neighboring States, and by the drainage of the Val di Chiana and of the Val di Nievole these once pestilential districts were rendered fertile and habitable.

Leopold was not, however, content with these useful reforms, but in accordance with the prevailing theory of the absolute supremacy of the Sovereign over the Church he undertook to regulate and reorganize her discipline and administration. Shortly after the beginning of his reign he decreed that the *Exequatur* and the permission of the *"Ministro del Regio diritto,"* or Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, should be obtained before soliciting any dispensation from Rome. He suppressed the right of asylum for criminals possessed by churches and religious houses, not by coming to an understanding on the subject with the Holy See, but by carrying off suddenly all such persons found in them. In 1785 he forbade many processions and pilgrimages and suppressed all the confraternities, which to the number of 2,500 had existed for centuries in Tuscany, establishing in their stead a *Confraternita di Carita* for caring for the sick. The reception of nuns was also regulated; their profession, which was not to be accompanied by any solemnity, could not take place before the age of 20 (which was afterwards raised to 30), while for men the ages for the novitiate and the profession were fixed at 18 and 24, and their vows were only to be taken for a year, with the faculty of renewing them. In the same year the Grand Duke secularized many convents, changing them into *conservatorii,* or schools for girls, under the administration of the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, leaving the nuns free to follow the religious life in another house of their order or to enter a *conservatorio,* and as soon as these schools were opened the convents were forbidden to teach, even gratuitously.

The Grand Duke's ideas with regard to the discipline of the Church in his States were put forward in fifty-seven articles in a circular addressed in January, 1786, to the Archbishops and Bishops of Tuscany, with a request to express their opinions on them frankly and with the utmost liberty, and to discuss them in the biennial synods of their respective dioceses. This strange document, which had been first submitted to the approbation of Scipione Ricci, the Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, bears unmistakably the stamp of that Jansenistic spirit which, under the mask of an austere piety, though refusing all obedience to Rome, aimed at overthrowing the supremacy of the Holy See, and which is so evident in the dealings of the various Italian sovereigns with the Church during the eighteenth century.[26]

[26] "Punti Ecclesiastici compilati e trasmessi da Sua Altezza Reale a tutti gli Arcivescovi e Vescovi della Toscana e loro respective risposte." In Firenza, 1787, per Gaetano Cambiagi, Stampatore Granducala.

Among these reforms which Leopold considered advisable for the good of the Church come first the revision and correction of the Breviary and the Missal and a suggestion that the prayers used in the administration of the sacraments should be said in Italian. He then advises the Bishops to claim the right of granting many dispensations which have always been reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff; he recommends the adopting of an identical course of theological studies in all seminaries and ecclesiastical academies, and that candidates for the priesthood should be obliged to study for a certain number of years before being promoted from one order to another. The Bishops were also asked to suppress all private oratories, at least in towns; not to allow the feast of a saint to be celebrated on a Sunday, and absolutely prohibit panegyrics or sermons in honor of the saints. Only one Mass ought to be said at a time; indeed, only one altar ought to be allowed in each church, over which there should be a crucifix or perhaps a painting representing the titular saint or the Blessed Virgin, and these images should never be concealed by a curtain, while all tablets or *ex-votos* in commemoration of miracles should be removed. Moreover, at the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament there ought not to be more than twenty-four lighted tapers on the altar nor fewer than sixteen, and twelve at most at any other feast. With a few exceptions all processions ought to be abolished; all novenas and the feasts of recently canonized saints suppressed; all relics carefully examined and their authenticity well established. The Grand Duke also describes in the most edifying manner the virtues which should distinguish the ideal parish priest; lays down rules for the prayers which he should read to the people before and after Mass, the instructions he should give them after the Gospel and even the tone of voice with which he ought to say Mass, at which, perhaps, all those present who understood Latin might be allowed to join in the responses. The Grand Duke's solicitude extended also to the monastic orders. He suggested the subjects of the sermons to be preached to the nuns, who were not to have more than one altar in their churches and no decorations or music. The monks, too, might celebrate the feasts of the saints of their order at the single altar allowed to remain in their churches, but without any pomp or music and never on holidays of obligation or during the hours of the parochial services.

It is needless to say that with the exception of the Bishop of Pistoia and of the Bishops of Colle and of Pienza, who professed nearly identical principles, the Archbishops and Bishops of Tuscany rejected very decidedly this attempt to reorganize the Church from a Jansenist point of view, and though the answers of some of these prelates seem, perhaps, too profuse in those expressions of humility

and submissiveness to the authority of the sovereign habitually employed at that epoch, particularly in Italy, it is easy to perceive beneath their courtly language the firm resolution to perform their duty and to resist at all costs the pretentions of the unauthorized legislator.

They point out to him, for instance, that from the earliest centuries churches were always richly decorated; that it has always been the custom in the Church to pronounce panegyrics in honor of the saints and to celebrate the memories of the martyrs on the anniversaries of their death; that it would be inadvisable to reëstablish the discipline of the primitive Church, and that usages generally adopted by the Church should not be denounced as abuses. They remind him that the Council of Trent had foreseen all the abuses which were likely to arise, and that every Bishop knew how to deal with them as well as the rules which he had to follow in the administration of his diocese. As to the works which the Grand Duke had recommended for distribution among the clergy, they had for the most part been condemned by the Holy See. The Bishops finally advise the Grand Duke to beware of the persons in whom he has placed his confidence with regard to ecclesiastical matters, and they warn him that the sole object of the writers who attack the supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff is to shake off every religious and civil authority, making use of the power of the Kings to destroy the authority of the Popes and of the united forces of the people to overturn the throne.

The condemnation by the Bishops of his Jansenist programme must have deeply wounded the vanity of the Grand Duke, who thereupon resolved to convoke a national synod, but he first judged it prudent to lay before an assembly of Bishops the questions to be submitted to the synod, hoping perhaps that the arguments of the theologians whom he had selected as his representatives might appease the alarms of the more scrupulous and induce them to accept his spiritual authority.

In the interval the Bishop of Pistoia held his diocesan synod from the 18th to the 28th of September, 1786. Of the 234 persons who assisted at it, 171 of whom were parish priests, a large number had been invited from distant parts of Italy, especially from the University of Pavia, which sent three of its professors noted for their Jansenism—Pietro Tamburini, Giuseppe Zola and Martino Natali—and the first of these, who was noted for his hostility to the Jesuits, his servile deference to the absolutism of the Crown, his resistance to the authority of the Holy See, and who was proud of the number of censures he had incurred, pronounced the discourse with which the synod was opened. The nature of the decrees of this synod, in

which Bishop Ricci desired to express the opinions which he had held for many years, can be sufficiently indicated by the fact that after mature deliberation and when Ricci had refused to come to Rome to justify himself, Pius VI., by the bull *Auctorum Fidei,* published on August 30, 1794, condemned eighty-five of the propositions which they enunciated.

In answer to the Grand Duke's invitation the three Archbishops of Tuscany and fourteen Bishops met in the Pitti Palace on April 23, 1787, under the presidency of Count Antonio Serristori, who represented the sovereign, while two professors of canon law from the University of Pisa and four theologians were charged with the defense of his proposed reforms. The assembly held nineteen sessions; the *Punti Ecclesiastici* were again discussed and again rejected by the great majority of the prelates, and only the Bishops of Pistoia, of Colle and of Chiusi were found willing to approve of the Grand Duke's suggestions. Leopold then saw the uselessness of summoning a national council, which would only have condemned his projects still more emphatically, and on June 6 he dismissed the assembly.

The Grand Duke's mania for remodeling every civil or religious institution was not cured by his failure to make the *Punti Ecclesiastici* take the place of the discipline of the Church, but he no longer sought to obtain the approbation of the clergy. In 1788 Mgr. Ruffo, the Papal Nuncio in Florence, was deprived of his appellate jurisdiction, which was transferred to the three Archbishops, and was informed that thenceforth he should be placed on the same footing as the other envoys. The Bishops were required to submit to the government lists of the candidates for holy orders, and the candidates were obliged to solicit the *Exequatur* of the government before being ordained. All processions except that of Corpus Christi were prohibited; all celebration of feasts of saints except that of the patron saint of each locality was suppressed, and all ceremonial or display of wealth at interments was forbidden.

But Leopold's mania for reforming every civil and religious institution in his States was happily brought to an end before he was able to inflict any permanent injury upon religion in Tuscany, for by the death of his brother, the Emperor Joseph II., on February 20, 1790, he succeeded to the throne of Austria, and after placing Tuscany under a Council of Regency he left Florence for Vienna. Immediately after his departure the irritation of the people caused by the suppression of so many of the religious orders to which they were attached, and the prohibition of the ancient usages inherited from their forefathers, was manifested by seditious movements at Pistoia, whence Ricci had to fly, and at Leghorn, where the people,

in spite of the resistance of the government, reëstablished the confraternities which had been abolished and held the procession of their patron, which had been forbidden. In Florence, too, though the Council of Regency in reply to numerous petitions had authorized the Archbishops of Florence, Pisa and Siena to restore many of the feasts and religious ceremonies which had been suppressed, disturbances took place and houses were attacked and plundered. Leopold, who saw the artificial fabric which he had so laboriously constructed on the ruins of all that the people cherished and venerated already beginning to crumble away, was indignant at the rejection of the reforms which he had ordered the regents to maintain carefully. He sanctioned, however, these concessions, though forbidding the regents to make any others; but further modifications of his legislation took place under the reign of his son, Ferdinand III., whom he installed as Grand Duke in April, 1791. In the same year the Bishop of Pistoia and Prato resigned his see, and after the death of Leopold, in 1792, the greater part of the laws by which he had sought to regulate the discipline of the Church were either revoked or very much modified at a conference held between representatives of the government and the three Archbishops.[27]

The reforms imposed on the Catholic Church in Austria by the Emperor Joseph II. were still more destructive and more violently carried out than those in Tuscany, inasmuch as he possessed a more impetuous temperament, greater obstinacy, and though at first he did not suspect it, was much influenced by the secret societies which had brought all Germany under their sway, the Freemasons and the Illuminati.

Freemasonry had been first introduced into the Austrian Empire by a Count Sporck, who had been initiated in Holland and who opened a lodge in his palace at Prague in 1726; but it was not until 1746 that a lodge was opened in Vienna which reckoned among its members the Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine, who had married in 1736 Maria Teresa, the daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., but who had not as yet been elected Emperor of Germany. The Duke had been received into the society in Holland in 1731, and in the same year had been given the rank of Master Mason at Houghton Hall, in the County of Norfolk, and his influence was able to avert any hostile measures on the part of the government against his fellow masons, who made proselytes speedily and secretly in every province of the Empire and among all classes of society, even, strange to say, among the clergy, in spite of the repeated proclamations of the Empress.[28]

[27] Reumont, II., p. 250.

[28] Alfred Ritter von Arneth, "Maria Teresia und Joseph II. Ihre Correspondenz." Wien, 1867. Vol. II., p. 99. Marie Terèsa à Joseph II., 24

With the death of Maria Teresa, the last years of whose life had been embittered by her knowledge of her son's irreligious tendencies and of the influence which the Freemasons exercised over him, Joseph II. was at last free to carry out his plans for the complete reorganization of the Empire according to the theories of the party which boasted of itself as the party of enlightenment, *"Aufklaerung."* He was, indeed, sincerely anxious to promote the welfare of his people, but it had to be done in his own way, and he was convinced that any resistance to his plans could only proceed from ignorance or ill-will, and should be suppressed by force. He had been noted from his childhood for his obstinate and impetuous character, and his education, directed mainly by a Hungarian nobleman, Count Batthyany, a harsh disciplinarian; by the Secretary of State, Bartenstein, the author of a tedious history of Austria in fifteen folio volumes, and by Karl Anton Martini, a lawyer belonging to the unpractical sentimental school of the French philosophers, had left him without any solid instruction or love of learning, any capacity for appreciating art or any respect for ancient institutions. To this must be added the pernicious effect of his study of the works of Voltaire, which excited the admiration of Frederic II., his stay in Paris in 1777, where he frequented the society of the leading philosophers and "Encyclopedistes," and the influence of the Freemasons who surrounded him, who flattered his vanity and made use of his absolute powers to carry out their designs.

The strategy followed in the campaign against the Church in Austria was on the same lines as that which had been carried out in the other countries where the Jansenists and the Freethinkers had united their forces to undermine the Church. The Emperor's decrees on religious matters which flowed from his pen in a ceaseless torrent during his whole reign contained the same prohibitions against the reception of any document from Rome without first obtaining the *Exequatur;* the same suggestions to the Bishops to render themselves independent of the Holy See; the same interdiction of any communication between the monastic orders and their generals residing in Rome or with any religious house situated outside the Empire, which had been already put in force elsewhere, but the reforms of Joseph II. were on a far greater scale than those of Ferdinand IV. or of Leopold; they entered into more details and were more ruthlessly carried out.

It was by the decree of 29th November, 1781, that the Emperor

Decembre, 1775: "Il y a ungrand malheur qui existe entre nous, avec les mellieurs volontés nous ne nous entendous pas . . . Vous faites trop voir l'antipathie contre toutes les anciennes coûtumes et tout le clergé, des principes trop libres enfait de morale et de conduite. Cela alarme à juste titre mon coeur sur votre délicate situation et me frémir pour l'avenir."

announced his intention of suppressing all the contemplative orders in his dominions, and Prince von Kaunitz and Baron von Heinke were charged with its execution. According to the plan which they drew up, each province was to organize a *"Klosteraufhebungs commission,"* or board for the suppression of religious houses, and these were replaced in August, 1782, by a board named *"die Geistliche Hofcommission"* (Royal Board of Spiritual Affairs), with affiliated sub-commissions in the provinces. The members of the suppressed religious houses were allowed a small pension and could join the secular clergy or enter some convent of their order situated abroad, or one of the orders still tolerated in Austria. Their property was to form a *"Religionsfond,"* or fund for religious purposes, which was to pay them their pensions and assist schools or charitable institutions.

The Emperor seems to have acted under the impression that he was inspired, for he informed Pius VI. that he heard a voice within him calling out loudly that it became him as legislator and protector of religion to act thus and not otherwise, and he probably intended that the confiscated property should have been employed in the service of the Church; but many of the monastic buildings were turned into barracks and much of their wealth served to endow military schools and foundling hospitals.

In the archives of some provinces may still be seen the ponderous infolios which contain a minute inventory of the landed and funded property, the sacred vessels, the libraries and the furniture belonging to each religious house, for everything was executed strictly in accordance with the rules laid down, which also prescribed that the commissioners named by the local governments for the visitation of each monastery should perform their duties with kindness and courtesy.[29] The buildings, the lands and the forests of the orders were appropriated by the State for its own use or sold; the precious objects, paintings, reliquaries were put up to auction and the proceeds, together with the funded property, deposited in the *"Religionsfond."* The sacred vessels were to be given to the Bishops of the diocese or to newly founded parishes. The most valuable books and manuscripts were to be sent to the Imperial library, the others were to be distributed among the schools and libraries of the province. The monks and nuns were allowed to remain for five months in their houses, during which time they were supported by the State; they might then return to their homes or enter one of the orders still tolerated. It may be remarked that the writer from whom these details are drawn, an ardent partisan of Joseph II. and

[29] Adam Wolf, "Die Aufhebung der Klöster in Innerösterreich, 1782-1790." Wien, 1871, pp. 22-56.

no friend of the monastic orders, states that at the time of their suppression the religious houses in general were in a flourishing condition, their discipline was excellent, and no scandal or misdeed is recorded against them in the official reports.[30]

It may be that in Innerösterreich (Styria, Carinthia and Carniola), with which alone Herr Wolf's work is concerned, the commissioners were perfectly honest and their accounts correct, but as a general rule their vandalism was such that in a few years the treasures of art and learning which the industry and the piety of many generations had amassed in the monasteries were wasted and dispersed without any advantageous result for either the Church or the State. A few examples from the many which are given by Catholic writers must suffice.

Gottfried van Swiethen, the president of the Board of Education, ordered to be sold as unsuitable for the library of a university early fifteenth century editions and works looked upon by bibliographers as priceless rareties; for, as he said, they only served to make a parade of erudition; and when in 1784 three hundred packages of theological works were about to be sold as waste paper for four florins (two dollars), he ordered them to be mutilated by tearing out some of the pages, lest the clergy might purchase them.[31] The fate of the library of the Carthusian Monastery founded at Gumming by Duke Albrecht II. in 1332 was not much better. Though some of the charters and manuscripts were deposited in the State archives, hundreds of cartloads of others were carried away and were seen no more.[32] The rich tapestries and vestments embroidered by the Duchess Johanna, the wife of the founder, her wedding ring and that of her husband, as well as their costly wedding robes, also disappeared. The commissioners suggested to the Emperor that Duke Albrecht's rapier, sword, dagger and choir book ought to be placed in the Imperial treasury and library, but the Emperor ordered them to be sold by auction, and the rapier went for six florins, the dagger for two, the sword for seven and the choir book for fifty-seven.[33] The collection of ancient weapons, cuirasses and banners belonging to the same monastery was sold as old iron, and the rare arms and armor, dating from the time of the Crusades down to the wars with the Turks, which was in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Lambrecht, in Styria, were sold to a smith as scrap iron for 450 florins.[34]

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[30] *Ibid*, p. 55.

[31] Dr. Albert Jäger, "Kaiser Joseph II. und Leopold II.., Reform und Gegenreform (1780-1792)," Wien, 1867, p. 142.

[32] Sebastian Brunner, "Die Mysterien der Aufklärung in Oesterreich (1770-1800)," Mainz, 1869, p. 296.

[33] *Ibid*, p. 294.

[34] *Ibid*, p. 328.

The treasures of many other religious houses were flung away with the same recklessness. In the Cistercian Abbey of Lilienfeld, built in 1202 by Duke Leopold VII., a leaden fountain of great artistic value, an admirable specimen of Gothic workmanship, was broken up and sold to a Jew. The great bell of the church shared the same fate, the sacred vessels disappeared from the sacristy and the rarest works from the library.

Ten chests of silver vessels belonging to the Benedictine Abbey of Kremsmünster, which had been founded in 777 by Thassilo II., Duke of Bavaria, were carried off by the local officials without the authorization of the Emperor, who when he heard of it ordered them to be restored, but they had already been melted down, and the abbey received only 40,000 florins as compensation for what was worth 200,000. The Provost of the Canons of St. Florian at Linz was not more successful, for when after his monastery had been despoiled of its chalices, remonstrances, statues, reliquaries and censers, he obtained by appealing to the Emperor that at least a portion of the stolen property should be restored, it was found that all had disappeared into the hands of the Jews.[35]

Pius VI. was alarmed by this ruthless persecution of the monastic orders and by the claim put forward by Joseph II. as one of his sovereign rights to name the Bishops of Lombardy. He found that neither his own letters nor the remonstrances of the Nuncio produced any effect on the headstrong character of the Emperor, and he therefore formed the resolution to go to Vienna, hoping that in a personal interview he might be more successful and obtain some concessions. Cardinal Herzan, the Austrian envoy in Rome, and other members of the Sacred College tried in vain to dissuade the Holy Father from undertaking this journey, and Joseph II. warned him that no arguments would make him depart from the principles which he had adopted for the good of religion in his States.[36]

The Holy Father, however, persisted; he left Rome on 17th February, 1782, accompanied only by a few prelates of his court, and on March 22 he was met by the Emperor a few miles from Vienna, where he was received with enthusiasm by the immense crowds which had assembled from every part of the Empire to greet him. He was lodged in the imperial palace, but every entrance was carefully watched to prevent him from holding any communication with the outer world, and the Austrian Bishops were forbidden to come to Vienna without the express permission of the Emperor.[37] The

[35] Brunner, *ibid*, p. 335.

[36] Dr. Hans Schlitter, "Die Reise des Papstes Pius VI. nach Wien und seln Aufenthalt daselbst." Wien, 1892. Erste Halfte, p. 4.

[37] Brunner, "Mysterien," p. 222.

suppression of religious houses, too, continued to be carried out both in Bohemia and in Lombardy, and to counteract the good impression which the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff might produce on the people of Vienna, a number of scurrilous pamphlets was allowed to be published, in which the Papal dignity and the supremacy of the Holy See were violently assailed. They failed, however, to produce the intended effect, for on every occasion when the Holy Father appeared in public he was received with manifestations of the utmost veneration.

During his stay in Vienna Pius VI. had several interviews with Joseph II., in which the questions on which they were at variance were discussed, and though the Imperial Chancellor and the Vice Chancellor, Prince von Kaunitz and Count von Cobenze (both of whom, if not Freemasons, were completely at the service of that party), were not present, they furnished in writing their opinions on the subjects which were treated and made every effort to restrain the Emperor from yielding on any point.[38] It was not, therefore, possible for the Pope, who sought to uphold the traditional rights of the Church, and the Emperor, who believed that everything that was not purely dogmatical was subject to his authority, to come to an understanding, and after a month's stay Pius VI. took his departure. He had only succeeded in obtaining the hope of some very trivial modifications of the oppressive edicts with regard to the publication of the bull *Unigenitus* against the Jansenists, the oath taken by the Bishops, the *Placitum Regium* or *Exequatur,* matrimonial dispensations and the permission for the provincials of religious orders to inform the generals of their nomination.[39] The Holy Father had also been allowed to receive a deputation of Hungarian Bishops, to whom on account of the painful situation in which they were placed he granted very extended powers of dispensation, for these prelates were not only dignitaries of the Church, but also powerful nobles exercising great influence over the Hungarian people, and the Emperor was obliged to treat them with more consideration than those of his Austrian dominions.[40]

Pius VI. left Vienna on 22d of April, 1782, and the Emperor acompanied him for a few miles as far as the Augustinian Monastery of Maria-Brunn, where he took his leave of the Sovereign Pontiff and received his blessing, apparently with the utmost respect, but shortly

[38] Schlitter, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-69: "Aus ihr (die Antwort des Kaiser's auf das Memorandum des Papstes) geht dentlich hervor wie sehr der Kaiser das Bestreben zeigte, sich dem Papste zu nähern, aber stets wider von Kaunitz mit aller Entschiedenheit zurückgehalten wurde."

[39] Schlitter, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 81, 84, 93.

[40] Dr. Albert Jäger, "Kaiser Joseph II. und Leopold II. Reform und Gegenreform (1780-1792)," Wien, 1867, p. 118.

afterwards the monastery was suppressed.[41] This was followed by further measures against the Church. The suppression of the religious houses was executed with greater severity than previously. Three days after the departure of Pius VI. 160 were suppressed in the Netherlands, 64 in Bohemia, 31 in Upper and Lower Austria and in the following month of September all those of the mendicant orders shared the same fate.[42] It was also forbidden to insert in future in any calendars, breviaries or prayer books any indulgences applicable to the souls in Purgatory, and that doctrine was also ordered to be omitted from all future editions of the catechism. The boundaries of several dioceses were then changed; any portion of a foreign diocese which extended into the territory of Austria was detached from it and added to the adjacent Austrian diocese without consulting either the Bishop or the Pope.

It would be impossible to enter more fully into the ecclesiastical reforms of a sovereign who during a reign of ten years issued no less than 6,206 edicts, a large number of which were directed against the Church, but one of the most important cannot be omitted—that of 30th March, 1783—which decreed the closure of all the diocesan and monastic seminaries in the Empire and instituted grand seminaries at Presburg for Hungary, at Vienna for Upper Austria, at Prague for Bohemia, at Olmutz for Silesia and Moravia, at Lemberg for Gallicia, at Gratz for Syria and Corinthia, at Innsbruck for Tyrol, at Freiburg for Breisgau and at Pavia for Lombardy,[43] to which the Bishops were ordered to send their students. The Emperor's intention was that they should all follow the same course of studies, calculated to form obedient and well drilled functionaries of the State, but completely divested of all trace of Catholicity, for according to the programme of these institutions published at Vienna in 1784, their principal object was to be the abolition of ultramontanism.[44] The teaching of ecclesiastical history, of Biblical exegesis, of moral and pastoral theology, of canon law and of patrology were to be based on philosophical principles—that is to say, on the theories of the "Encyclopedistes,"[45] and their libraries were furnished with Jansenist and Protestant works, especially with those which showed tendencies towards rationalism.[46] As professors both in these semi-

[41] Schlitter, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[42] Jäger, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[43] Rev. Augustine Theiner, "Jean Henri Conte de Frankenberg, Cardinal Archevêque de Malines, Primat de Belgique, et sa lutte pour la liberté de l'Église et pour les séminaires épiscopaux sous l'Empereur Joseph II. Traduct par Paul de Gealin, missionaire Apostolique," p. 32.

[44] *Ibid*, p. 82.

[45] Jäger, p. 129.

[46] Theiner, *ibid*, p. 85.

[47] *Ibid*, p. 32.

naries and the recently established normal schools, care had been taken to select men who 'whether priest or laymen, had neither conscience nor faith, neither religion nor morals, and for whom naught was sacred."[47]

It is sad to say that, with few exceptions, the Austrian Bishops submitted to this decree,[48] but when on March 15, 1786, the Emperor informed the Belgian prelates that he intended to extend the same measure to Belgium and unite all their students in a general seminary at Louvain, he met with more resistance. Cardinal von Frankenberg, the primate of Belgium, protested strongly and implored the Emperor to abandon his project, but in vain. On October 16 an edict suppressed the diocesan seminaries as well as all schools of philosophy or theology in monasteries. November 1 was named as the opening day both of the Seminary of Louvain and of that of Luxemburg for the province of that name,[49] and the students were warned that unless they followed a course of five years at one of these establishments they should not be raised to the priesthood.

The management of religious affairs in Belgium had been entrusted to an ecclesiastical commission composed of men known as Jansenists and declared enemies of the Church, and the rector of the seminary, the Abbé Stöger, who had been professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Vienna, had written a manual of history, the irreligious tone of which has caused him to be expelled by order of the Empress Maria Teresa.[50] Still the Bishops, who found their protestations of no avail, who also probably feared that the government might employ force and who were somewhat tranquillized by Count Belgiojoso, the Chief Secretary at Brussels, who assured them that the Emperor would not allow any error to be taught in the seminary, and that their observations on the subject would be attentively listened to, allowed very reluctantly their students to proceed to Louvain. The theological lectures began on December 1, but before long the impiety displayed by Stöger and the other professors in their teaching and their uncouth manners drove the students to open revolt. They broke the windows of the class room and forced Stöger to take flight, and lest the people should take arms in their defense, troops were sent from the neighboring towns, when several of the seminarists were arrested and imprisoned.[51]

As the students still refused to assist at theological lectures where Jansenist opinions were openly professed, further arrests were made, but to no purpose, for one after another they fled from the seminary

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[48] Theiner, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[49] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[50] *Ibid*, p. 70.
[51] *Ibid*, p. 78.

till at the end of January, 1789, only twenty remained out of 300 who had been present. The Bishops were immediately ordered by the ecclesiastical commission to refuse to assist or to shelter the fugitives under pain of being treated as their accomplices, and to send them back to the seminary without delay. The Papal Nuncio at Brussels, Mgr. Zondadari, who was accused of having circulated in Belgium the Papal bull *Super Soliditate* in condemnation of Eybel, was expelled from the country, and Cardinal von Frankenberg, unjustly denounced as being the cause of the revolt at Louvain as well as of the irritation prevailing among the people against the imperial decrees, was summoned to Vienna. The Cardinal fully enlightened the Emperor with regard to the civil and religious situation, but as was the case with Pius VI., his words were of little use.

The Belgian people, however, were less submissive than the Austrian subjects of Joseph II. and much more ardently attached to their religion and to their ancient institutions. They also enjoyed privileges and liberties possessed at that time by no other nation on the Continent of Europe. The ten provinces into which Belgium was divided were independent of each other, though subject to the representative of the ruling power, who resided in Brussels, but in their various changes from the sovereignty of the Dukes of Burgundy to that of the Kings of Spain and lastly to the House of Austria, they had always preserved their traditional constitutions, built up slowly in the course of centuries by the charters granted at various epochs by their princes. The province of Brabant alone possessed a charter, in which all the chief privileges of the land were clearly and definitely expressed. It was known as the *"Laetus ingressus,"* or Joyous Entry,[52] as every sovereign on ascending the throne was obliged to swear that he would govern in conformity with its articles, the most important of which was that if the sovereign were to infringe any one of the stipulated rights his subjects might refuse to obey him until he had withdrawn the obnoxious measure.[53]

Joseph II. in the beginning of his reign was inaugurated in the different provinces of Belgium. His sister, the Archduchess Maria Christina, and her husband, Duke Albert, of Saxe-Teschen, the governors general, swore in his name in each of the chief cities to maintain intact the ancient rights and privileges both of the Church and of the province.[54] What must then have been the indignation of the Belgian people when by a succession of edicts in November, 1786; January, March and April, 1787, Joseph II. swept away the historic institutions of their country to replace them by a new division of the

[52] Theiner, *ibid*, p. 41.

[53] Rev. L. Delplace, S. J., "Joseph II. et la Révolution Brabançonne," Bruges, 1891, p. 25.

[54] *Ibid*, p. 52.

territory administered by a new order of functionaries, who were to make known the imperial commands and be obeyed even if they should appear to exceed the limits of their authority.[55]

This despotic measure speedily brought matters to a crisis, and the States of Brabant, relying on the privileges guaranteed by the "Joyous Entry," refused to vote the taxes (19th April, 1787).[56] Protestations and petitions flowed in from all sides to the States, to the governors general and to the Emperor, and some slight concessions were made by the suspension for a time of the new courts of law. Thirty-one deputies were then elected by the provinces to lay their demands before the Emperor at Vienna, but they found him obstinately resolved to carry out his measures, though he promised that if they first of all submitted he would go to Belgium to try to come to an understanding with the States.[57]

Again the States of Brabant refused to vote the taxes until on September 21 General Murray, who had replaced the Archduchess and her husband as governor general, acknowledged the ancient privilege and consented to suppress the new courts of law and the new officials. The Empeor, however, changed his mind again. General Murray was replaced by Count von Trauttmansdorf on October 25, 1787, and Count d'Alton was put in command of the army. Another attempt was then made to reopen the general seminary at Louvain, in spite of the strongest protestations on the part of the Bishops and of the States, but its halls remained empty; and as the diocesan seminaries had again received their students, the government resolved to suppress them by force, but the people in many places rose in their defense, and at Malines and Antwerp the disturbance was only suppressed after much shedding of blood (August, 1788).

But the end was close at hand. In January, 1789, the Emperor withdrew whatever concessions he had made; the States of Brabant and Hainaut were forbidden to meet again; in February the Bishops and the superiors of the religious orders received positive commands to send their students to the general seminary under pain of confiscation of their revenues, and in many cases the students were forcibly carried off and transported to Louvain.[58]

A general agitation then began to spread throughout all Belgium. Under the leadership of Henri van der Noot, an advocate of the Sovereign Council of Brabant, and of Colonel Van der Mersch a large body of volunteers was formed on the Dutch frontier and many villages prepared to take up arms in spite of the threats of Count d'Alton

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[55] *Ibid*, p. 88.
[56] Delplace, *ibid*, p. 92.
[57] *Ibid*, p. 101.
[58] Theiner, p. 220.

that he would lay in ashes any town which revolted. Trauttmansdorf, foreseeing the coming revolution, promised in the Emperor's name to recall the obnoxious reforms, but the Belgian nation, which had been already deceived, rejected his overtures, and on October 26, 1789, Van der Mersch entered Belgium with a few thousand men. The defeat of the Austrian troops at Turnhout was the signal for a general insurrection. The garrison of Ghent surrendered; Brussels, Malines, Antwerp, Namur and Louvain were evacuated, and by the end of December the country, with the exception of Luxemburg and the citadel of Antwerp, was freed from the rule of Joseph II.[59]

Overwhelmed by this unexpected disaster and with his eyes at last opened by the results of his anti-religious reforms, the Emperor turned for help to the Sovereign Pontiff, whom he had so often defied and insulted, and promised to repair as much as in him lay the injury he had inflicted on the Church and on the liberties of the Belgian people. At his request Pius VI. wrote, on January 13, 1790, to Cardinal Frankenberg and to the Bishops of Belgium to inform them of the Emperor's resolution and to exhort them to persuade their fellow-countrymen to return to their allegiance, since they had at last obtained what they sought. But it was too late. Deputies from all the provinces except Luxemburg had already assembled in Brussels under the presidency of Cardinal Frankenberg, and on January 11 they proclaimed a confederacy bearing the name of *"les Etats-belgiques-unis."*

Joseph II. died on February 20. On January 28 he had just previously revoked by a decree the greater part of the reforms which he had tried to impose on the Hungarians and which had nearly driven them also to revolt. The day before his death he said to the Prince de Ligne, a Belgian nobleman and an intimate friend: "Your country has killed me; the taking of Ghent has been my agony; the loss of Brussels my deathblow. How humiliating for me; how humiliating!" And he asked to have inscribed on his tomb as epitaph: "Here lies a Prince whose intentions were pure, but who had the misfortune to see all his projects fail."[60]

With the accession of Joseph's brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a reaction took place. The new sovereign had the sense to revoke much of the ecclesiastical legislation of his predecessor; the general seminaries were abolished; the Bishops were no longer interfered with in the management of their dioceses; some of the religious houses which had been suppressed were reopened and their property restored, but the *Exequatur* for Papal bulls and briefs was still main-

[59] Delplace, *ibid*, p. 120.

[60] Dr. Albert Jäger, "Kaiser Joseph II. und Leopold II. Reform und Gegenreform, 1780-1792," p. 297.

tained and the confraternities and processions still prohibited. Overtures were then made to the Belgians. Leopold disapproved frankly of the innovations imposed by his predecessor and promised to acknowledge the ancient right and institutions of Belgium. He was aided in the attempt to reëstablish his authority by the dissensions which arose among the deputies, some of whom were willing to submit, while others wished to introduce the revolutionary ideas of the French Jacobins.[61]

France and England when applied to by the States General refused to intervene in their defense, and on December 3, 1790, the Austrian troops reëntered Brussels. The Emperor adhered faithfully to his promises; he gave back to the Church the rights of which she had been deprived by the edicts of Joseph II., and he granted a general amnesty, but peace had hardly been restored when he died suddenly on March 1, 1792, shortly after having concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia against France, the Legislative Assembly of which was threatening to invade the German electorates and to let loose those armies of the Revolution which were to deluge all Europe with blood.

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THE SANCTUARY LITERATURE OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND.

THE study of pre-Reformation religious life in England has been coming to the fore by leaps and bounds. The "Continuity" theory is doubtless responsible in great measure for the movement; for the busy and venturesome vanguard of advanced Anglicanism is appropriating with the most delightful daring the erstwhile discarded treasures—both doctrinal and liturgical—of a Church it was once taught to hate and disown. Impervious to anything that savors of logic and historical consistency, the High Anglican recounts without a blush the sources from which his much-lauded Prayer Book was taken. It no longer comes upon him as a revelation or an untoward circumstance that whatever beauty it may possess was flagrantly borrowed from a Church which "hath erred in matters of faith;" on the contrary, he feels quite at home in a pre-Reformation library of even "Mass" books, and talks

[61] Théodore Juste, "Histoire de Belgique." Bruscelles, 1868. Vol. III., p. 83. London, England.

with naïve simplicity and sangfroid on practices the discovery and uprooting of which were the daily bread of a thousand and one Elizabethan pursuivants.

But hardly would we wish it otherwise. The Anglican has been and is a good friend to us. He has done yeoman service in unfolding to us the riches of the past. He has had his own motives, of course; with these we may quarrel as with his unmanageable deductions from facts; but his antiquarian instincts, coupled with his laudable desire to test every link of the imaginary chain which is fondly supposed to unite his religious life of to-day with that of the primitive Church, has served the useful purpose of enriching our own store of historic knowledge and of supplementing the strenuous efforts of our own workers in the same field.

The happy result of these untiring labors is that we have been brought into close contact with the liturgical life of our Catholic forefathers, inasmuch as we have secured a clear and comprehensive description of the plan and contents of all the varied service books of the Church in England anterior to the Reformation. As a guarantee of accuracy, the descriptions have been written mainly from the books themselves; often from those known to have been formerly in use in specified parish churches and brought to light by recent research on the part of specialists in the subject.[1]

A record of the old service books, we may remark *per transennam,* is of more than antiquarian interest; it will appeal to every well informed Catholic proud of his religion, and will serve as an adequate and eloquent object lesson, on the one hand, of the Church's grand and dignified conservatism, while furnishing, on the other, abundant evidence that she is a living organism, full of vitality, capable of displaying her inner life in a variety of outward forms always beautiful and harmonious, never subject to the aimless vagaries or wanton fancies of the amateur religionist.

The language of the sanctuary is but the poetic and eloquent rendering of creed formularies. It is the flower that blossoms perennially in a soil that never fails; so that the Church's service books may be regarded as the natural outcome of the life that throbs in her veins, an index of the growth that must necessarily characterize a living organism. They exhibit her in all her many moods in the exercise of her multifarious duties; now with missal in hand, as the sole depositary of the Eternal Sacrifice; now as the

[1] Particular mention should perhaps be made of a most useful and compact volume which every student of the subject should possess, viz., "The Old Service Books of the English Church," by Christopher Wordsworth, M. A., and Henry Littlehales (Methuen & Co.), pp. i.-xiii., 1-319. The contents of this volume have been freely drawn upon in the course of the present article.

Church militant joining choir with the Church triumphant in the daily hymn of praise from breviary and psalter; now walking, processional in hand, in humble imitation of the first lowly procession to the temple or the triumphant entry into the Holy City; or yet again chanting her "Dirige" in mournful strains over the last remains of one of her children who but now has gone to sleep in the sleep of peace.

Truly the Church is the bride of Christ, *circumdata varietate,* with a divine genius of adaptability to the needs and emotions of her children. Her service books are not merely the epitome of her teaching; they are its glowing and sublime sequel, redolent of praise, of pathos, of practical piety and powerfully reminiscent in their liturgical instructions of the glorious visions vouchsafed to the exiled prophet of Patmos.

The different books from Missal to Manual may be classified under four heads:

I. The different hours said in the choir.

II. Processions in the church or churchyard.

II. The Mass, said at the altar.

IV. Occasions such as marriages, visitation of the sick, burial, etc.

Under I. we have Antiphoner, Breviary or Portos, Capitulare, Collectare, Computus (Gerim), Kalendar (Numerale), Hymnary, Legenda, Martiloge, Passionale, Ordinal, Consuetudinary, Pye, Prymer, Psalter, Song Book, Venitare.

Under II. comes the Processional.

Under III. the Epistle Book, Gospel Book, Grail, Missal, Troper (Sequences).

Under IV. the Baptisterium, Manual, Shrift Book.

Long though it is, this list represents only those books which were required by authority as a minimum; over and above them we find others which were provided by parishioners or presented for the use of churches by benefactions at various periods from the tenth to the sixteenth century: The Dirge Book, Quires (Quaterriones), Sermones, Versiculare, of Class I.; Prick Song (organ book), Textus, of Class III.; Benedictional, Pontifical, of Class IV.

Most of these will be unfamiliar to all but specialists in the subject, and though each one has its own particular interest it will be impossible to do more here than notice some of the more important and better known.

I.

First we have the books for divine service in choir. The history of the Breviary—the chief of these—is a curious one. As its name seems to denote, it was a compendium, but when first used it is not

easy to decide. Originally it was not an official choral book, but a short prayer book for lay use like the "Breviarium" dedicated by Alcuin to Charlemagne in 804, and the "Breviarium Psalterii" drawn up in 861 by Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes. Two centuries had elapsed before the Breviary in its now common acceptation is mentioned, and that in a treatise known as "Micrologus" ascribed to Bernoldus de Constantiis. The purposes which the Breviary properly so called were intended to serve are well set forth in the simple title "Horarium domesticum, sive choro ecclesiastico deserviens" found on the first page of Sarum folios. From this we gather that its contents were not exclusively for choir purposes, and if the mission priest was to say his office out of choir it became an obvious necessity that he should be equipped with a *"compact and portable volume which he could sling from his girdle or wear in his wallet as he trotted or trudged about his cure or district."*[2] Hence the other name which is often met with instead of Breviary, viz., "Portos" or "Portiforium." Moreover, the original constituents of the office developed and multiplied in course of time. Hymns were grafted on the parent stem, as also the accounts of the martyrs' sufferings (Passionarium), the sermons or homilies of the Fathers (Sermologus), short lessons and prayers (Collectarium); so that a serviceable Breviary or Portos became really a collection of books which hitherto had had but a separate existence. Authors give 1250 as the possible date when the dean of St. Paul's was beginning to require Breviaries in place of the old Collectars, Antiphoners, Lectionaries, Hymnals, etc., and in addition to these there were incorporated into the Breviary Psalter and Antiphoner, for Psalmody; Liber Responsalis, Bibliotheca, Homilarius, Passionarium, for Lessons; Martilogium, for the Chapter Office; Kalendarium, Computus, for the Kalendar.

The oldest Breviary noticed in the British Museum catalogue of MSS. consists of 256 leaves measuring 8½x5½ inches. It has no lessons for Matins and comprises collects and little chapters, etc., for the *Temporale,* the *Proprium Sanctorum,* Service for the Dead, *Commune Sanctorum,* Dedication Anniversary, Hymns *de proprietate de communi* and Dedication. Its date is probably the twelfth century, but an older one still is the so-called "Portiforium Oswaldi," written apparently in 1064 and preserved in the Parker collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The MS. is practically intact. It is interesting to find in it, as in our Breviaries to-day, that the Saturday office is "de Sancta Maria," and a curious feature is the insertion of various "Blessings" and directions with regard to holy water such as now we should look for in our "Ritual" or "Ordo

[2] See volume already alluded to, chap. iii.

Administrandi." A further characteristic of this, as of so many other Breviaries at that time, is that the music is appended here and there to some of the hymns, evidencing the extreme care and thoroughness and untiring patience which characterized the work of copyists before the art of printing superseded it.

Mention of music leads naturally to a notice of the "Antiphoner," which was one of the many books of which the Breviary was the epitome. In these days when the study of the earlier specimens of plain chant is becoming so prominent we may turn with additional zest to the music of the Antiphoner. Its scope was to provide the music for the canonical hours, as the "Grail" did for the Liturgy of the Mass.

Mr. Wordsworth writes:[3] "Its purpose was to provide the words and music of those antiphons which imparted to the course of the psalms a special flavor, recalling the season or the solemnity proper to the service of the day, or emphasizing the salient features of the psalms themselves. In early times the antiphon permeated the entire psalmody, recurring again and again as a sort of chorus . . . as may be still heard in the variable antiphonal invitatory which runs through the course of the 'Venite,' which is the invitatory psalm introducing the Mattins Nocturns. But by the mediæval times . . . the antiphon was sung only at the *Gloria Patri,* which concluded each psalm or group of psalms, or each canticle drawn from the Old Testament or from the Gospel of the Incarnation according to St. Luke."

Copies of Antiphoners are rare and precious. They are mostly in MS. Cambridge University Library contains a fourteenth century MS. Sarum Antiphoner, and a complete English monastic Antiphoner of the thirteenth century is to be seen at Worcester Cathedral Library. So great was the reluctance, chiefly perhaps on account of the expense, to put music into type, that there does not appear to have ever been more than a single edition printed of any Antiphoner of English use. Cordially, therefore, shall we welcome the facsimile editions of some of these MS. treasures which are said to be in course of production for the "Plain Song and Mediæval Music Society." The sole printed edition above alluded to appeared in two five folio volumes—Paris, 1519-1520—but only three copies are said to be extant. On the title page are the words: *"Antiphonale ad usum ecclesiae Sarum politissimis imaginibus decoratum."* It contains numerous elaborate and artistic woodcuts and a reduced facsimile page has been most carefully reproduced in *"The old Service Books."*

The purpose of the *Psalterium* is sufficiently indicated by its name.

[3] *Op. cit.,* p. 104.

The earliest specimens that we have—and one of them dates back to the seventh century (British Museum MS. Vesp. A 1)—differ from our Breviary Psalter in this, that the psalms generally followed one upon the other without any intervening antiphons or versicles. The reason of this seems to be that the first Psalters were non-liturgical. The liturgical Psalter is not met with until about the year 1300. One MS. of the eleventh century (Brit. Mus. Stowe 2) has the curious feature of the marginal addition of the antiphons in a handwriting of the fifteenth century. Frequently the Psalter was used as a book of private devotions, a fact which perhaps explains the occurrence sometimes of an interlinear English translation. An existing fourteenth century copy has a parallel French translation and forestalls the work of Tate and Brady, inasmuch as it "concludes with a rhyming version of the Psalms in English." Only a few of the Psalters have been printed, among them being the seventh century MS. already alluded to and another about the middle of the twelfth century, both by the Early English Text Society. Perhaps none of the early service books varied so much in size and in ornamentation as the Psalter. One copy in the British Museum is exceedingly small, measuring scarcely three inches high; another, of the eleventh century, is about eighteen inches high and unusually wide; a third, known as the Meopham Psalter, preserved in the library of Sion College, London, was almost as large. The second of these is unique in having the text disposed in three columns, and still more striking are the exceedingly curious pictures of which the book is full. They are probably *ideographic* or illustrative of the text, and reveal the artist in a florid or even merry mood, while nothing could be greater than the contrast they present to the very severe specimens of the *Psalter* in which not only is there an almost entire absence of ornamentation, but psalms are made to run on, one after the other, without any attempt at division or separation.

Besides the Psalms, the earlier Psalters contained canticles, the Athanasian Creed and Litany; to these, after the beginning of the thirteenth century, frequently was added the Office for the Dead and even the music for the same. The extra choral use of the Psalter may be inferred from the following interesting notice of a "Royal Psalter" given by Falconer Madan in his "Books in Manuscript:"

"The fortunes of MSS. are well illustrated by a MS. now in Exeter College library, at Oxford. It is a Latin Psalter, followed, as usual, by canticles, a litany and prayers, beautifully illuminated in English style, and from the joint occurrence of the royal arms and those of Bohun, and the occurrence of the name Humphrey in a collect, probably written and painted for Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford

(d. 1361), grandson of Edward I., whose grandniece was married to Henry IV. in 1380. Through her it passed into the Royal Library, but seems especially to have belonged to the Queens, for both Elizabeth of York and Catherine of Arragon have written their names. In the calendar are obits of the royal family up to the time of Henry VIII., and no doubt it passed to Elizabeth. She seems to have parted with it to Sir William Petre, the refounder of Exeter College, to which he presented it. Thus it happens that the successive possession of the Tudor sovereigns and the only original authority for the date of the birth of the founder of the Tudor dynasty (Jan. 28, 'hic natus est rex Henricus VII.,' 1455-6) has dropped into a quiet college library."[4]

II.

In the second class there is only one book—the *Processional* (Processionarium), which contained litanies, antiphons, etc., that were sung in procession, and all the rubrics which governed processions. Musical notation is strongly in evidence, and for this reason a "Processional" closely resembles a "Hymnal" in appearance; but whereas the latter pays only the scantiest attention to rubrics, practically indicating the occasion alone on which the various hymns are to be sung, the former is most explicit in its directions as to details of occasion, place and manner. Ornamentation for the most part is wanting in both of them. Here we are not surprised to find what the church wardens of Yatton in 1497 "payd for a proschensnall," 9s. 4d.; and one in 1426 cost the low figure of 5s. 11d.

"Manuscript copies of this service book are somewhat rare; the later printed copies are more common." One feature of the printed copies is worthy of special notice, viz., the appearance in the text of a kind of pictorial rubrics pointing out the position of ministers and servers on specified occasion, though the drawing, as we should expect, is somewhat conventional. One of the most interesting appears in a printed Sarum Processional of 1519, and depicts the order of procession before Mass on Christmas Day. A second, also from a "Sarum," gives the Ascension Day procession. The diagrams are certainly quaint. Crosses, candles, aspersory and thuribles indicate the positions of their respective hearers or ministers, while the sub-deacon, deacon and celebrant can be localized by small circular patches representing their tonsured heads. This feature in the drawing seems also to be observed in cases where the other servers also are clerics. The meaning of these diagrams is further

[4] The numerous other books that appertained to the service in choir are all of great interest. The "Old Service Books of the English Church," already referred to, deals with them fully, one by one.

elucidated by explanatory rubrics at the foot, *e. g.*: *"Statio dum benedicitur aqua benedicta in omnibus dominicis diebus; et fiat modo sequenti." "Ordo processionis in secunda feria in rogationibus. Haec sequens Antiphona dicatur a toto choro in stallis." "Statio dum benedicuntur candele in die purificationis beate marie."*

III.

The evolution of the Missal has proceeded on lines similar to that of the Breviary. It is a compilation. The "Missale Plenarium," or Missal in its modern sense, containing all that is required for the service of the Mass, was non-existent in the ancient Church. Its component parts existed as separate books: The Antiphonale, or Gradual or Grail; the Lectionary, Book of the Gospels, and Sacramentary. It cannot be definitely determined when these separate factors were incorporated into one whole. Maskell (Monumenta Rit.) gives the fourteenth or fifteenth century as the period when the complete book was generally adopted; but the authority of M. Leopold Deliste is adduced[5] for the statement that complete Missals were formed from the eleventh century onward. The matter, however, is not one of very vital import, though it is well to bear in mind that the word "missal" was in use long before it was deemed necessary or convenient to embody the different altar service books into one.

The "Sacramentary" was the earliest form of the Missal or Mass Book, a term by which it was known at least as early as the eighth century. It contained collects, secrets, prefaces, canon, the prayer *infra canonem* and post communion, besides directions and forms to be used in the admistration of the other sacraments. The table of contents seems never to have been rigidly fixed, but the canon which is the invariable part of the book has not appreciably altered for 1,500 years. The history of English sacramentaries does not take us back beyond the tenth century. Earlier books with a mixture of Gallican and Roman rites seem to have perished and left the Gregorian sacramentary in possession of the field. Not that there was absolute uniformity in the liturgy of the Church in England. The various "Uses" of Sarum, York, Hereford, Lincoln and Bangor sufficiently indicate that divergencies did exist; but the points in which these differed from the Roman or Gregorian rite are commonly thought to have been far greater and more numerous than actually was the case.

English Uses were little more than English editions or recensions of the Roman Liturgy. We had no national rite like that of the Copts or Chaldeans for example, which like many other Oriental

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

liturgies received the explicit sanction of Rome, and such variations as did exist were but the outcome of circumstances which made uniformity almost an impossibility. Bishops seem to have had almost unlimited freedom to regulate public worship in their dioceses as long as they retained the main features of the Roman Mass; but never did they lose sight altogether of the decree of the Council of Cloveshoe in 747 that "the holy feasts of Our Lord's dispensation in the flesh, in all things duly pertaining to them—*i. e.,* in the office of baptism, in the celebration of Masses, in the manner of the chant—should be celebrated according to the copy which we have in writing from the Roman Church."[6]

Such differences as do exist in the Ordinary of the Mass between old English and modern Roman rites do not occur until after the prayer "Libera nos," which terminates the canon proper. But it is relevant to remark that neither does the Missal of Pius V. tally altogether with the Roman "Ordinarium" Missal of earlier times in the prayers which come after the canon proper. Indeed, the prayer "Domini Jesu Christe qui dixisti" is not to be found in the Roman Missal even in 1090, so that we are quite prepared for a certain amount of latitude and divergence in English Uses without being obliged to sever their connection with Roman uniformity in the main.

The best known Sacramentaries and Missals are the "Stowe" Missal, the Leofric Sacramentary (1050), the Red Book of Derby, the Missal of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 1099, and the most recent MS. "find"—the Hambledon Missal, written apparently about the year 1405. Of this book Mr. Wordsworth gives a copious and interesting account (page 175), from which we cull the following:

"The book appears to have been written about the year 1405 for some one bearing the arms of Appleyard, a family well known in Yorkshire, Norfolk, and, at least in the seventeenth century, in Cambridgeshire. The chevron, or between three owls argent, membred or, on a shield azure, is four times repeated on the leaves, which are most highly ornamented, viz., at the opening of the Proprium de Tempore, and thrice in the canon of the Mass. . . . The book, which is now the property of H. H. Peach, Esq., Stoughton Road, Stoneygate, Leicester, has lost its original cover through damp and other causes. Rats have somewhat gnawed the margin, but their Hanoverian principles have probably led them to eschew the text, so that the book is practically complete, having lost only one leaf, which must have been originally left blank or else embellished with a miniature. It contained 414 leaves (or upwards of 820 pages) besides the four fly leaves, all of vellum. . . . It belonged to a person of distinction bearing the arms mentioned above."

[6] Hefele, "Concil," III., p. 562.

Being so much later in date than the Sacramentaries and Missals above named, its contents are much more comprehensive, more so in fact than printed Sarum Missals of a century later. It contains excerpts from the Processional, Grail and Manual, musical notation throughout for some of the liturgical lessons, and numerous other insertions which made its owner independent of all other books for his duties in church, save only his Breviary.

A comparison of the Hambledon with the Stowe Missal already alluded to will show the marked difference between a fifteenth century and an eleventh century Mass book. In four centuries it had grown almost beyond recognition, there being little else in common other than the ordinary and canon. The contents of the Stowe Missal as given by the Rev. F. E. Warren, who has edited it, are as follows: The Gospel according to St. John, Ordinary and Canon of the Mass (the Canon ascribed to Gelasius), a Mass in honor of Apostles, Martyrs and Virgins, a Mass for Penitents, a Mass for the Departed, Order of Baptism, Order for Visitation, Unction and Communion of the Sick, an old Irish treatise on the Eucharist, three charms in Irish.

Though not an English Missal, for it belonged to a church in Munster, this volume is a fair specimen of the Sacramentaries of the period, which seem never to have been bound by any fixed rule as to contents as long as the ordinary and canon of the Mass were present in their entirety.

Printed copies of the Sarum Missal abound, and strangely enough Missals of many other Uses were probably never printed at all. It is suggested in explanation of this that the printed Sarum Book may have been adopted and the necessary liturgical alterations added afterwards in handwriting. Certainly printed editions of the Sarum Missal were very early in the field. It is known that one saw the light as early as 1487, and by the year 1557 no less than sixty-six different impressions had been made. The five editions of York Missal which have come down to us appeared between the years 1509-1533, and only four copies have survived of the Hereford Missal printed in 1502.

The formation and introduction of what were termed Plenary Missals was hailed by the priest at the altar as a great relief. As the Rev. J. O'Brien writes in his "History of the Mass," "it was oftentimes very embarrassing for a priest, especially if celebrating Low Mass, to have to turn from one to another of the four volumes whenever he wanted to read a particular prayer or lesson, and the necessity of having one book in which the matter of all the four would be combined was soon felt."

The contents and character of the other three books which went

to form the Missal may be briefly noticed. The first of them, the "Antiphonale" or "Antiphonary" must not be confounded with the Antiphoner already described under the Breviary. It served, however, a similar purpose, supplying the music for the Mass as the latter did the music for the Office. It came to be known in later times as a Gradual, and its contents were almost coextensive with the same book used in choir to-day. *Grail* is only a contraction of Gradual. The Plain Song and Mediæval Music Society has had a fine facsimile produced of a Sarum Gradual written about the year 1210 and preserved in the British Museum. In the preface thereto Mr. W. H. Frere gives a list of eight Sarum Graduals, two of the thirteenth century, two of the fourteenth and four of the fifteenth. These folio printed editions were produced at Paris in the first half of the sixteenth century. Elaborate ornamentation is not a characteristic of this service book, but the musical notation stands out with great clearness, a feature to which our attention is specially called in the 1532 edition, which claims to be printed in characters *crassiorilus quam antea notis.*

More care was spent on both the Epistle Book and Gospel Book, Lectionary and Evangeliary as they are sometimes called. Extant specimens of both these books are rare, though some think it is probable that in pre-Reformation times they existed in considerable numbers. This, however, can be but surmise, for ecclesiastical authorities do not seem to have been very exacting in regard to either of these service books. Between 766 and 1544 twelve different authorities are given by Mr. Wordsworth as requiring certain service books to be kept in churches, but only in one instance, Aelfrie's Canon XXI., is mention made of the Epistle Book, the Gospel Book only twice. We should hardly expect, therefore, to come across as many copies of either of these books as, for instance, of Missals, Grails, Psalsters or Antiphoners, all of which are frequently set down among the "requisita." Still the faithful did not forget them among their voluntary benefactions, for in an interesting table of books actually provided, though not necessarily required by authority,[7] we find twenty-four Epistle Books and twenty Gospel Books in the inventories of churches, between the tenth and sixteenth century. Moreover, the incorporation of both these books into the Missal was not conducive to multiplication of copies, and manifestly it was only the larger parishes possessing facilities for High Mass which would require them at all after *full* Mass books became general, and even so a duplicate copy of the Missal was found to answer the purpose equally well.

Perhaps the finest extant copies of these twin volumes are those

[7] *Cfr. op. cit.*, p. 36.

given to the Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, by Stephen Jenyns, Lord Mayor of London, and his wife, in 1508, and now preserved among the MSS. of the British Museum. Our readers will study with interest in "Wordsworth and Littlehales" the two reduced facsimile pages—one from each volume—which are carefully and minutely reproduced. The miniatures are extremely elegant, the initial capitals elaborate and the borders are decorated in finished artistic style. Everything points to the fact that these twin volumes were looked upon as of considerable importance. Even the binding is exceptional. An Epistle Book at the Cathedral Church of Sarum in the thirteenth century had both covers of silver, and sometimes we find oaken boards silver mounted or with a silver plate inserted in the front. The following excerpt from the Inventory of 1517, St. Lawrence's Church, Reading, is interesting:

"It ii° bokes, a gospellour ,lxix. unces) and a pistellour (lxv. unces), the one side covered with silver parcell gilt with images uppon the same and the other side with boces of silver, weying yn all cxxxiiij. unces, of the gift of Mr. Richard Smyth, yeman of the robes with our Soverayne lord the Kyng."[8]

IV.

Lyndewood's description of the Manual, which is the chief book of Class IV., proves it to have been a very comprehensive little volume. He makes it include "omnia quae spectant ad sacramentorum et sacramentalium administrationem item benedictiones, tum fontium quam aliorum, secundum usum ecclesiasticum benedicendorum; et ea quae sunt usitata in processionibus."

The description accurately coincides with the contents of Manuals still preserved, except in regard to the last clause. It is doubtful whether the Processional was ever incorporated in the Manual—certainly not as a general rule—and the combination would have been a somewhat impractical one. In later Manuals, and occasionally in an earlier one, extraneous matter is introduced according to the individual taste or fancy of the compiler. Thus we come across the Canon of the Mass, the order of wedding and funeral Masses, one or two Votive Masses, and even the Confirmation service. Apart from these accretions, the Manual corresponded for the most part to our "Ordo administrandi."

After the Calendar came the Blessing of Salt and Water, the Asperges, Baptismal Services, the Blessing "post partum," the form for celebrating Marriages, Visitation of the Sick, Extreme Unction, the Office for the Dead, the Commendation, the Burial Service, etc., etc.

[8] Kerry's "St. Lawrence's Church, Reading," p. 100.

We compare the Manual with the "Ordo administrandi" rather than with the Ritual itself because of the frequent introduction of English into the text. We must refer our readers for the many evidences of this to the second chapter of the "Old Service Books." They are exceedingly quaint and will be read with zest, carrying with them the conviction, if such were needed, that religion in those days at least was a whole-hearted thing; that it had struck its roots deep down into the soul and had blossomed forth into a living earnestness and simplicity before God, untarnished by mundane considerations, supremely conscious of that higher supernatural life imparted to the soul by means of the sacraments. Faith in those days had not been dimmed by the counter claims of devastating scientific theories, by the ravages of rationalism and infidelity or by the unwholesome sneers of the omniscient Freethinker; it stood before the world in sole possession of the field, with all its native fervor and simplicity. Reserve or awkwardness or shyness in the external manifestation of one's faith was an unknown quantity in those days. There was no fear of criticism, no thought of it. Outward forms and ceremonies in private devotions as in public worship were the common property and practice of all; not yet had they gone down before the ruthless scythe of an irreligious cynicism, and consequently every glimpse we get of the religious life of those times is fraught with a thousand and one indications of the wonderful spirit of piety that had taken possession of the people. All things were made subsidiary to their faith. It was graven on their hearts; it was a part of themselves—their constant companion from the cradle to the grave.

Note the childish simplicity that breathes in the priest's admonition to the godparents at baptism: "Dicens in lingua materna—Godfaderis and godmoderis I charge you and the fader and the moder that this child be kept this seven yer fro water fro feer (fire) fro horsfot, fro hondes toth, and that he . . . be confermyd of a byschop that next cometh to contre be seven myle be halve, and that he be tauyt his beleve, that is for to sey Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Credo. And that ye wasche your hondes er ye goon owt of churche in peyne of fastyng xl fridayes."

Similarly in the form for visiting the sick. The priest asks: "Belevyst thow in god fader almythi, makere of hevene and of erthe? Et respondeat infirmus in quolibet articulo—I beleve. Belevyst thou in his sone?" etc., following upon which comes the humble acknowledgment of sin preparatory to Extreme Unction: "I knowliche to god and to owre lady seynte Marie, and to alle ye halwene (saints) of hevene that I have senned, with mowth spoken, with feet goon, with eyen seyen, with eren hered, with nose smelled," etc.

And so if we turn to the Prymer, the layman's prayer book. Many of these surpassed all other service books in wealth of ornamentation —a fact which may fairly be adduced as a gauge of the richness of men's faith and adequately reflects the deep interest, sincerity and love that characterized their worship of the Deity. One simple fact may be noted which speaks volumes, viz., the constant mention and bequests of Prymers in mediæval wills; for the prayer book of a departed one, with its many hallowed associations, was always considered a precious heirloom.

Thus the extract from the will of a fifteenth century London grocer: "My Prymer with gilt clapses whereuppon I am wont to say my service."

Again, in a will of 1498, a lady leaves to "My goddaughter ursula ffitzwater a premer clasped with silver and gilte for a Remembrance to pray for me."

Another bequeathes "a Prymer to serve god with."

Whichever way we turn there is the same healthy glow of child-like faith, unfettered yet submissive; eloquent, unobstrusive, sincere; an ever vivid reflex and realization in every-day life of the Master's injunction, "Unless ye become as little children ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Unlike the Prymer, little or no ornament is to be found in the Manual. This is not surprising. Its contents had to be compressed into as small a compass as possible for the simple reason that the book often had to be held in one hand, and that sometimes, as, for example, at funerals, in the open, when a costly volume would suffer severely from the inclemencies of the weather.

Several MS. copies of the Manual are still preserved in the British Museum, and in his "Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions" Mr. Wordsworth gives a list of thirty-three printed editions of the Sarum Manual, ranging from 1497 to 1555.

Having incidentally alluded to the Prymer, it may be as well to finish our remarks upon it here, though it was classified under the first heading. Strictly speaking, it ought not to find a place in any one of the four classes into which we have divided the service books, the reason being that it was not a book essentially for public service. But it has an interest all its own. Considering that it was the layman's prayer book, its contents will strike the reader as being somewhat remarkable. They were as follows: The Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the seven penitential Psalms, the fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office for the Dead, the commendations.

These devotions, moreover, seem generally to have been in Latin, sometimes both Latin and English is present, though a considerable number of Prymers, wholly in English, still survive. The contents,

of course, varied. Those just enumerated are characteristic of the mediæval Prymer; an earlier MS. copy in the British Museum does not contain the fifteen Gradual Psalms or the Commendations, whereas its later development is supplemented by the Psalter and several other forms of devotion. The picture ornamentations, when present, are beautiful and unique; and here again we are fortunate in having some exquisite facsimile specimens set before us.[9] In this connection the Prymer holds the place of honor, for a full-size page of a fifteenth century copy (British Museum MS. 2 A. xviii.) appears as the frontispiece of the volume. It is a masterpiece of illumination. The lettering is bold and distinct, the borders with floral and frondal decoration beautifully executed and the coloring, especially in the picture representing the Annunciation, is superbly reproduced. Altogether it is a perfect gem of ornamentation. The other facsimiles are less elaborate, but no less interesting; one showing the picture which generally preceded the Office for the Dead, another the usual picture representing three little nude figures being carried up by angels in a white sheet to heaven, found before the Commendations of the Dying, and a third giving an interesting fly leaf which contains the royal autographs of King Henry VII., Queen Elizabeth of York and Margaret of Scotland.

There is no official book to-day which corresponds to the ancient Shrift Book, "script boc" or Penitential. The purpose it served is now practically covered by the seminarist's course of Pastoral and Ascetical Theology and such books as are intended to supplement it. "About the middle of the fourth century," writes Mr. Wordsworth, "St. Basil of Cesarea issued canons to define the limits of public penance to be inflicted for specific offenses. Such rules were frequently laid down in councils of the Church, and in the sixth and following centuries collections of such canons were codified." Various compilations seem to have followed, the contents of which furnish evidence of great activity in the production of suitable literature for the confessor, both by way of instruction and exhortation. Thus we have "Libellus de penitentiis," "Summa de penitentia," "De confessione," "Summa Confessorum," "Summa de Vitiis," "Manual for the Use of Priests and Confessors," "Speculum peccatoris," "Quomodo sacerdos sedebet gerere in confessione," "Quomodo suscipiendus est penitens," "Modus confessionis" and many others.

These different treatises or dissertations are sometimes found bound up with the Penitential Canons, sometimes they have a separate existence. It is worthy of note that by the Penitential ascribed by some to Egbert (766-91), as also by the twenty-first Canon of Aelfric (about 995), all young priests were counselled to procure

[9] *Op. cit.*, passim.

a copy of the Shrift Book; and there is other early evidence of the Church's solicitude that her pastors should be well posted up in the details of the most important duty of hearing confessions and guiding their penitents aright.[10]

The other books mentioned under Class IV. were the Pontifical and Benedictional, neither of which were at any time common, as they could not be classed among the books usually belonging to or required at a parish church. For this reason it is somewhat remarkable that comparatively so many are in existence to-day. The explanation proffered by Mr. Littlehales is most probably correct, viz., that both these books were more or less the personal property of prelates, and were cared for in a measure as such. The contents of the Pontifical were practically as we find them to-day. The Benedictional, according to Maskell, "contained the episcopal benedictions which were given during the Canon of the Mass—most probably "between the fraction of the host and the singing of the Agnus Dei." The main difference between the benedictions contained in the Pontifical and those set forth in the Benedictional is that the latter furnishes forms of blessing in accordance with the season or the feast; the former has the ordinary "blessings" for persons and things. As a rule the Benediction is threefold, and its general scope or character is seen in the following instance:

(*Rubric.*) Dominica Septuagesima. Omnipotens Deus ita stadium veri cursus dirigere dignetur, ut bravium vos aeternae vitae comprehendere faciat. Amen.

Et ita vos armis abstinentiae circumdet, ut nullis hujus vitae impedimentis, ab aeterna perventione retardemini. Amen.

Quique vos vinca sua vocare, vobisque operarios mittere dignatus est, ipse vos sua gratia dignetur excolere, ut denario vitae perennis vos remunerari concedat. Amen.

Then follow the words "Quod ipse praestare dignetur," which are an abbreviation of the long form "Quod ipse praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sti; et pax ejus sit semper vobiscum. Amen."

Showing that these benedictions come with the regularity of the seasons; on the same page of the eleventh century Benedictional (Brit. Mus. MS. 2892), from which we culled the threefold blessing given above, appears the following rubric: "Finiunt dominicales benedictiones post Epiphaniam. Sequuntur benedictiones a Septuagesima usque in Pascha."

Several fine Benedictionals are still extant, notably that of Aethel-

[10] *Cfr.* "Sixth Canon of Clovesbro and the Lincoln Archdaecons," Visitation article No. 44.

wold, Bishop of Winchester in 963-984, of which Falconer Madan, in his work already quoted, says that it was written by Abbot Godeman and illuminated with scenes from the life of Christ and figures of saints in such profusion and artistic taste that it is probably the finest MS. existing in private hands.[11]

Some of the *Notes* and *Scribblings* which are to be found in several of the old service books are very curious, *e. g.:*

> Iste liber attinet, deny it if you can;
> Ad me Robertum Colston, a very honest man.

Somewhat severe is the sentiment found in a MS. Manual (Brit. Mus.):

> Iste liber pertinet at paratum Aldatum. Thys boke ys one and chryst curse ys another, he yt take the one, take the other. Amen.

Mostly, however, the scribble is confined to family records, thus:

> Thomas my sone was borne the xiii. day of Januarii, the yere of oure lorde 1488, on a Tewesday at nyght, betwene viii. and ix.: god make hym a good man. (Flyleaf of Prymer, Brit. Mus.)

It is curious also to note, and typical it was of the time, that after the quarrel of Henry VIII. with the Pope all matter referring to the Pope and to St. Thomas of Canterbury in service books was frequently obliterated. This fact undoubtedly accounts in great measure for the destruction of many of the old service books even under Mary, inasmuch as the books so defaced were condemned as imperfect.

This brief survey of the books that were used in the sanctuaries of Merry England may suffice to show that they are replete with interesting matter from beginning to end. Indirectly the study of their varied contents cannot but have a soothing effect on the earnest religious mind. The period from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation was one which in our early days we learned to associate with incessant strife of one kind or another, either differences with foreign powers and the protracted wars often consequent thereon, or internal embroilments which, if not actually terminating in civil war, as in the case of the Red and White Roses, at least kept the country in a continual state of unrest. That period is now clothed

[11] A passing reference should be made to the wealth of interesting topics touched upon in "The Old Service Books," other than its presentment of the contents of our old liturgical books. Many of its pages will delight the bibliophile as well as the liturgiologist, notably the chapter on miscellaneous subjects, which treats, among other things, of clasps and hosses, book-markers, book-rests, desks and cushions, patchels, standards, grotesques, etc., while in the second chapter much valuable information is forthcoming on the ornamentation of service books, mediaeval binding, the cost of service books, where they came from, by whom written, mediaeval references to service books and services, parts of serivces in English, service books adorned with heraldic devices, the plan of the mediaeval service book and its relation to the book of common prayer.

for us in a new and softer light—the dim religious life of the sanctuary. We do not see the glint of steel reflected from many thousands of helmets and death-dealing battle axes, nor do we hear the measured tread of an army on the march, the thunder of cavalry or the trumpet call to battle. We witness, on the contrary, the peaceful and glowing Ritual that surrounds God's earthly throne; we are shown the calm and tranquil inner life of a Catholic nation; we recognize that the period of which we speak was one of deep religious activity when the services of the Church were minutely carried out with characteristic majesty and magnificence, heedless of and unaffected by the raging storms that tossed the surface above.

G. E. PRICE.

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THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF ALGERIA.

THE French conquest of Algeria is a record of glory and disgrace, of deeds of heroism alternating with deeds of cruelty, of noble efforts for the evangelization of the native races thwarted by the ignoble policy inspired by the anti-Christianism and religious indifferentism of contemporary France. One of its greatest glories is that it gave its deathblow to piracy; but that is to be placed to the credit of the powers that were rather than of the powers that be. Algiers was long its chief base. Time was when the Algerine Corsairs were a formidable power who terrorized Europe, and in their swift-speeding galleys swept the seas from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and could proudly say:

> These are our realms, no limit to their sway—
> Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey,

whose name was everywhere "famed and feared;" whose "blood-red signal" glittered in the gales that lashed into foam the stormy ocean that separates two continents; at whose dreaded approach when they swooped down upon and captured the richly laden merchant vessels as they sped upon their course, or suddenly raided Christian towns, carrying off the pick of their population into slavery,

> Hope, withering, fled, and Mercy sigh'd farewell,

when many an expectant merchant in Genoa, Naples or Venice strained his eyes in vain for the argosy which would never again sail into their harbor; when Algerian galleots infested every part of the Western Mediterranean, levying contributions of slaves and treasure upon the Balearic Islands and the coasts of Spain, and even

beyond the straits, waylaying vessels returning to Cadiz laden with the gold and jewels of the Indies, until Algiers, filled with the plundered wealth of a whole hemisphere, became the most opulent city in the world, in so much that the Turks called, not without reason, their India, their Mexico, their Peru; when, piracy increasing with the increase of the Turkish power in the Levant after the fall of Constantinople and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the Corsairs, from their rocky retreat, were strong enough to defy the might of Spain, Italy and France; when the great Corsair, Uruj Barbarossa, captured two galleys royal of Pope Julius II. on their way from Genoa to Civita Vecchia; when Uruj's brother, Kheyr-ed-din, pitted himself against brave old Andrea Doria, the greatest Christian admiral of his age, and made the Berbers, those indomitable African mountaineers, who had never owned a superior, choose him by acclamation as their King, treating the Moorish families who had welcomed him within their gates at Algiers with an insolence that the descendants of the Abencerrages must have found it hard to endure; when an adventurer with a motley following of untrained bandits and nomads could overthrow a Spanish army, make his dominions co-extensive with modern Algeria, and consolidate piracy, which became the scourge of Christendom, divided or united, for three centuries; when seven thousand Christian slaves labored at the defensive works and harbor of Algiers and every attempt of the Emperor to rescue them and destroy the pirates' stronghold was repelled with disastrous loss, as the great Armada sent by Cardinal Ximenes had been; when slavery became so common in North Africa that the expression in the slave market of Algiers, "Christians are cheap to-day," was a business quotation, just as if they were dealing in stock and shares; when scions of the oldest patrician families, the bluest blood in Europe, were compelled to pull at the oars alongside the scum of the Levantine seaboard under the lash of a Turkish boatswain; when among the captives were Cervantes, who, during the three years he spent in durance vile, gave proofs of his greatness of soul, constancy and cheerfulness, the Earl of Inchiquin—famous or infamous in Irish history as "Morough of the burnings"—and his son, Lord O'Brien, captured off the Tagus while engaged in one of those foreign services in which so many Irish soldiers of fortune enlisted, and whose ransom cost 7,500 crowns, as well as in the century following the remnant of the brave Irish Brigade, to the number of eighty, on their way from Italy, not to mention the Rev. Devereux Spratt, captured off Youghal as he was crossing from Cork to Bristol, and who was so moved to compassion by the miserable condition of the slaves at Algiers that, when ransomed, he yielded to their entreaties and stayed a year or two longer to comfort

them with his holy offices; when, long anterior to his captivity, the same divine virtue of compassion, at the close of the twelfth century, inspired St. John of Matha to found the Order of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, whose members, in their white habits with the blue and red cross on the breast—three colors symbolical of the Three Divine Persons—fearlessly confronted the Corsairs and redeemed some twenty thousand slaves; when, in 1627, Murad, a German renegade, took three Algerine ships as far north as Denmark and Iceland, carried off eight hundred captives and, rivaling his namesake, Murad Reis, a Fleming, in 1631, ravaged the English coasts, crossed over to Ireland, sacked the town of Baltimore in West Cork and bore away 237 prisoners, men, women and children, even from the cradle—an event commemorated by Thomas Davis, one of the Young Ireland poets, in one of the most beautiful and finished ballad poems in the English language:

Then flung the youth his naked hand against the shearing sword;
Then sprung the mother on the brand with which her son is gored;
Then sunk the grandsire on the floor, his grandbabes clutching wild;
Then fled the maiden, moaning faint, and nestled with the child.
But, see! yon pirate strangled lies, and crush'd with splashing heel,
While o'er him in an Irish hand there sweeps the Syrian steel!
Though virtue sink and courage fail, and misers yield their store,
There's one hearth well avenged in the sack of Baltimore.

Oh! some must take the galley's ore, and some must tend the steed;
This boy will bear a scheik's chibouk, and that a Bey's jerreed.
Oh! some are for the arsenal by beauteous Dardanelles,
And some are in the caravan to Mecca's sandy dells.
The maid the Bandon gallant sought is chosen for the Dey;
She's safe—she's dead!—she stabbed him in the midst of his serai.
And when, to die a death of fire, the Irish maid they bore,
She only smiled, O'Driscoll's child—she thought of Baltimore!

"It was a piteous sight to see them exposed for sale at Algiers," relates Father Pierre Dan, the Redemptorist,[1] who found 25,000 Christian slaves in Algiers and its environs in 1634. "For then they parted the wife from the husband and the father from the child; then, say I, they sell the husband here and the wife there, tearing from her arms the daughter whom she cannot hope to see ever again." Many bystanders burst into tears as they saw the grief and despair of these poor exiles from Erin.

Down through the later middle ages, and even in modern times, the passion for piracy became epidemic in Southern Europe. Not only Mahommedans, but Christians engaged in it. But they were renegade Christians. There were Algerian galleots built by Christians, manned by Christians and commanded by Christians of this degenerate type. In 1588, out of thirty-five galleys or galleots which sallied forth from Algiers to prey upon Christendom, twenty-four were commanded by renegades. When a galley was launched to

[1] "Hist. de Barbarie," p. 277.

the cry of *Allahu Akbar*—"God is most great"—a sheep was slaughtered over the vessel's prow—a symbol or prefiguration of the Christian blood to be shed. These Algerine pirates, the majority of whom, according to Haeds,[2] were renegades, thought no more of hunting Christians than if they were hunting hares and rabbits.

The Corsairs were not only masters of the sea—their allies, the Turks, commanding the eastern and the Algerian pirates the western basin of the Mediterranean—but posed as the equals of the great powers. When Turkey entered into an alliance with Francis I. against Charles V. in 1543, Barbarossa, the most famous of the Algerian Corsairs, actually brought his 150 ships to Marseilles. Though a French admiral denounced this compact as an impious alliance, French captains had to salute the Corsairs *capitana,* and the banner of Our Lady was lowered to be replaced by the Crescent. Frenchmen, helpless and humiliated, saw the Corsairs wintering in the harbor of Toulon, while French slaves labored and languished in the infidels' galleys, securely moored in a French port. The captives died by hundreds of fever, but no Christian burial was allowed them; even the bells that summoned the pious to Mass were silent. They only met their match when they measured their strength against the chivalrous Knights of Malta, who were a perpetual thorn in the side of Turkey and made themselves even more felt and feared by the Corsairs, whose vessels they alone dared to tackle single handed. It was only after the proudest chivalry the world has ever known routed and repulsed the magnificent soldiery of Suleyman the Great from the bastions of Fort St. Michael, and the Knights of Malta, who will live forever among the heroes of all time, won everlasting renown, fighting and conquering for the honor of Our Lady and St. John, and the battle of Lepanto, that other brilliant victory of Christian faith and valor under the auspices of Our Lady—Queen of the Most Holy Rosary—was fought and won, that the era of the great Corsairs closed and they gave place to petty pirates. Petty as they were compared with their predecessors, they were still able to inflict humiliations upon France and Great Britain and prey upon European commerce as well as enslave Christians. "There was some excuse," observes Lane-Poole,[3] "for dismay at the powerful armaments and invincible seamanship of Barbarossa or the fateful ferocity of Dragut; but that all the maritime powers should have cowered and cringed as they did before the miserable braggarts who succeeded the heroic age of Corsairs, and should have suffered their trade to be harassed, their lives menaced and their honor stained by a series

[2] Abbot Diego de Haedo spent many years in Algiers in the sixteenth century.

[3] "The Barbary Corsairs," by Stanley Lane-Poole. London, Fisher Unwin, 1890. P. 256.

of insolent savages, whose entire fleet and army could not stand for a day before any properly generaled force of a single European power, seems absolutely incredible, and yet it is literally true." European statesmanship had fallen very low when Barbary Corsairs were put upon an equal diplomatic footing with civilized States. No really serious attempt was made to put down the scourge of the Mediterranean between 1560 and Lord Exmouth's fleeting victory in 1816. Meanwhile most of the maritime States were represented at Tunis and Algiers, although their representatives were subjected to repeated indignities. The powers having settled that Algiers must not be attacked, the Dey had only to bully and bluster and every government in Europe—each not wishing the other to score a point in the political game or attempt to checkmate—would truckle and temporize. The position of British consul was made absolutely degrading, so that one of them, Cartwright, described the consular office at Algiers as "the next step to the infernal regions." The Dey, often a common soldier chosen by his comrades, could presume to address George III. of England as "dear friend of this our kingdom," and consuls were recalled at their bidding or caprice. Sir Thomas Roe, proceeding to his post as Ambassador at Constantinople about 1582, said that unless checked the Algerine pirates would brave even the armies of Kings at sea and endanger the coasts, and reported that their last cruise had brought in 49 British vessels, and that there would soon be one thousand English slaves in Algiers; the pirates were even boasting that they would go to England and fetch men out of their beds, as it was their habit to do in Spain. To prove that this was no empty boast, they captured two Scottish lairds, the masters of Morton and Oliphant, who remained for years prisoners in Algiers. In the fourth decade of the seventeenth century there were three thousand husbands and fathers and brothers in Algerine prisons, while their wives, daughters and sisters thronged the approaches of the House of Commons and besought the intervention of Parliament with prayers and sobs. Four hundred British ships were taken in three or four years before 1622, and in the first quarter of the seventeenth century 240 British slaves had to be redeemed for £1,200.[4] The dare-devil insolence and aggression of the Deys went farther. The presence of a remonstrating admiral in the Bay of Algiers resulted only in the consul being thrown into prison and his family turned homeless into the streets, while his dragoman received a thousand stripes of the bastinado. When the French shelled

[4] Sir R. Lambert Playfair, Agent and Consul General, in his "Scourge of Christendom," has set forth the principal incidents of British relations with the Dey of Algiers in great detail, and has authenticated his statements by references to official documents of unimpeachable veracity in a volume of over three hundred pages (London, Smith & Elder, 1884).

Algiers in 1683 the Vicar Apostolic, Jean de Vacher, who was acting as consul and had worked untiringly among the poor captives for thirty-six years, was, by order of Mezzomorto, with many of his countrymen, blown from the cannon's mouth; and the same thing happened to his successor in 1688, when forty-eight other Frenchmen suffered the same barbarous death.

But the day of retribution, though long delayed, at length dawned, and it is not to the credit or advantage of Great Britain that it was left to France to inflict well-merited chastisement upon the Algerines, and that the same feeble and vacillating policy which paralyzed the action of the powers during the Armenian massacres prevailed through a cowardly dread of a general Mahommedan uprising.

The conquest of Algiers in 1830 reflected a sunset gleam of glory upon the decadent and expiring Bourbon monarchy before it finally disappeared below the political horizon. An insult offered to the French consul by the Dey was the last straw which broke the camel's back, the last drop which filled to overflowing the measure of Algerine insolence. At one of the state audiences the Dey, mentally intoxicated by a recent diplomatic triumph over Great Britain, thought he could equally set France at defiance, and in a fit of real or simulated anger struck the French consul, M. Duval, a blow in the face with his fan. "It is not to me, but to the King of France, that this affront is offered," said the Frenchman with characteristic dignity and *aplomb*. "I care no more for your master than I do for you," retorted the Dey. That blow was well avenged. It cost the Algerines the possession of Algeria and added a colony to France. "Algiers," says a French writer, "perished by her own fault. The audacity which had stood her in good stead during three centuries ceased to be luck and became madness."

At the close of May, 1830, a French army of 34,000 men, under the command of General de Bourmont, sailed from Toulon, and on the 13th of June landed in the peninsula of Sidi Ferruch, on the African coast, about twelve miles from Algiers. In two battles fought on the 19th and 24th, they met and overcame an army of 50,000, forced to retreat precipitately upon Algiers, into which on July 5, after a short siege, the French troops marched in triumph, passing through silent and deserted streets, while the historic white flag of the Bourbons—the old flag which Chambord several years later refused to sully by combination with the revolutionary tricolor—floated from the battlements of the pirate stronghold, the fortress of the Kasba. It would have been well if subsequent military rulers in Algeria had been as jealous and careful of the honor of France as M. de Beaumont, who, when the Turkish janissaries sent an envoy declaring their willingness to depose the Dey and put

him to death, dismissed him with the reply that "the French army has not come so far to assassinate an individual, but to conquer an enemy."

An enemy had been conquered in a campaign which was short, sharp and decisive; but the conquest was not yet complete, although General de Bourmont in the first flush of victory wrote exultingly: "The task of the army is fulfilled." Sporadic rebellions of the tributary beys had to be put down; every expedition undertaken by Berthezene, who found himself menaced by a general insurrection of the natives, proved disastrous; the excessive severities of the Duc de Rovigo and General Boyer stirred to indignation and revolt the Arabs, who declared that the French were "worse than the Turks." The chivalrous and protracted resistance of Abd-el-Kader, whose brilliant leadership and marvelous resourcefulness inspired the Arabs with the hope of freeing themselves and their country from the yoke of the foreigner, had to be overcome by a nine years' strenuous struggle; a border war between the French and the Moors had to be fought and won before the power of the former in North Africa could be finally secured; the Kabyle war, which succeeded, had to be waged and the tribes who from time immemorial occupied all the mountainous country which covers so large a proportion of the area of Algeria, subdued for the first time in their long history; and the insurrection of 1871 quelled and immigration on a large scale from Alsace and Lorraine promoted before peace and order on any firm basis were established.

The history of the French conquest of Algiers is strangely linked with the fate of the Bourbon monarchy. Coincident with its capture synchronized the three days' revolution which led to the deposition of Charles X., whose power even the prestige of foreign conquest failed to preserve; while the seizure of the last stronghold of Abd-el-Kader by the Duc d'Aumale and the surrender of the heroic Arab chief, who had so long kept the armed forces of France at bay, to the young Bourbon prince, then Governor General of Algeria, was quickly followed by the revolution of 1848, which cost Louis Philippe his crown and obliged him to make his escape through the same door of the Tuilleries through which Philippe Egalité had passed on his way to the scaffold.

Jealous of the honor which the conquest of Algiers conferred upon the elder branch of the Bourbons, represented by Charles X., the government of the Citizen King, an offshoot of the more prolific Branche Cadette, grumbled at the expense which the maintenance of the new province entailed, and the question whether Algiers was to be retained by France or not was openly debated. It was regarded by many as a white elephant, a useless encumbrance, "a great quag-

mire in which the treasure and the blood of France had been swallowed up." Others maintained, and with more show of reason, that the Algerian question was a double one, at once of honor and of interest. "France," says a French writer,[5] "has received of God the mission of civilizing Northern Africa. However hard the task may be, however great the sacrifices it imposes upon her, she must persevere in this course; it would be a disgrace to her to do otherwise." And an English writer says:[6] "It is to the French, and the French only, that we owe a great work of reformation, the cleansing of one of the filthiest Augean stables in the modern world. Through every change of government and party, under King, Emperor and republic, at the cost of much blood and treasure, they have persisted in the work. No millions of money, no millions of sturdy colonists have rewarded these efforts. The French nation has still to endure a drain on its resources, and that with little prospect of relief. In return it enjoys the sense of possession, the use of the word colony and the consciousness of a great task well begun." The pity of it is that France has only half comprehended and hardly half fulfilled the great work which lay before it. It was not merely the material progress of a new colony, not merely making Algiers one of the first ports and coaling stations in the Mediterranean and an unrivaled health resort, but the Christian civilization and regeneration of North Africa, a land of classic memories enshrined in pagan and ecclesiastical annals, which the lives and deeds of heroes, saints and martyrs have made forever famous, although the remembrance of them may have half faded from the minds of men in these later ages.

"In His providence God has chosen France to make of Algeria the cradle of a great and Christian nation, a nation like unto herself, her sister and her child, happy to walk by her side in the paths of honor and justice," wrote one of the greatest Frenchmen, one of the primordial minds of the nineteenth century, a magnificent man, a citizen worthy of the country of St. Louis, a true *fils des croisés,* and an apostolic prelate worthy to rekindle the light of faith in a land rendered illustrious by the virtues, learning and eloquence of a Cyprian and an Augustin—Cardinal Lavigerie. "He is calling upon us," wrote that great Archbishop, eminent by his ecclesiastical rank and his brilliant services to the Church and humanity—"he is calling upon us to use those gifts which are especially our own in order to shed around us the light of that true civilization which has its source and its spring in the Gospel; to carry that light beyond the desert to the centre of the continent, which is still enshrouded in

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[5] M. A. Joanne.

[6] "Among the Berbers in Algeria," by Anthony Wilkin. London, Fisher Unwin, 1900.

the densest darkness, thus uniting Central and Northern Africa to the common life of Christendom."

The vast scheme of spiritual conquest—a conquest far more important than mere territorial expansion—planned out by Lavigerie, the evangelization not of Algeria alone, but of the whole of the African Continent—a colossal enterprise worthy of one regarded as the savior of Algiers, a fitting successor of the great Bishops of the primitive Church in Africa, a second St. Augustin,[7] would be farther advanced towards possible realization in the future if contemporary France had the wisdom to appreciate and promote such a gigantic undertaking, which would redound more to the credit of its statesmen than the petty policy its rulers pursued. But the times were out of joint for such a man and such a movement. He was a crusader born out of time. France was no longer the France of St. Louis, Catholic to the core and from end to end, but only Christian and Catholic in name. Other men and other manners had obliterated its past, extinguished its traditional spirit and rendered difficult, if not impossible, their revival. The eloquent and glowing words in which Lavigerie, on his advent to Algiers in May, 1867, depicted the history of Northern Africa; the traces of three great historic races discoverable in the ruins which everywhere strewed the ground; the remains of the highest and most varied civilization; the graves, the monuments and the memories of the most illustrious men; the scattered stones of world-famed cities; the more hallowed memories which appealed to Christians worthy of the name, sacred memories of the heroes of the faith—of their courage, their genius and their sanctity; the greatness of the ancient Church of Africa with its seven hundred Bishops, its innumerable churches, monasteries and doctors, the Church which rejoiced to listen while a Cyprian and an Augustin unfolded dogmas and doctrines; its soil saturated with the blood of martyrs; the courage of its delicate maidens in the hour of persecution, a courage which surpassed that of hardy and intrepid men; the grottos of its mountains and the oases of its deserts perfumed by the virtues of the solitaries of the Laura and Thebaïd, who moved to admiration, imitation and holy envy the whole of Western Europe from Lerins to Ireland, whose monks

[7] On the occasion of the opening of the hospital at Algiers an Arab fête was held in the neighboring plains. It was a solemn and beautiful scene when Mgr. Lavigerie, in full pontificals, attended by fifty priests, having ascended the hill on which the hospital stood, gave his benediction to the building, which bore the inscription "Bit-Allah" (God's House). It was like an episode of the past, recalling to the minds of all who witnessed it the glories of the early Church of Africa. The English Consul, Colonel Playfair, kept repeating to everybody: "We have St. Augustin amongst us again!" ("Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave Trade," edited by Richard F. Clarke, S. J., p. 115.)

modeled their ascetical lives on those of the Fathers of the Desert—all these words, all his passionate appeals to Africa to take its place once again among the nations united to it by a common faith and a common civilization, all the picturesque phrases in which his fervent enthusiasm and ardent hopefulness portrayed a North Africa of the nearing future, risen again from its ashes, purified, regenerated and endued with fresh life and renewed vigor, were so much idle, empty verbiage to the unheeding ears and unsympathetic hearts of too many of his fellow-countrymen.

"The French administration in Algiers," writes Father Clarke,[8] "had always been marked by an unjustifiable opposition to any attempt to Christianize the country. The government seemed to imagine that the policy of non-interference would do more to conciliate the natives than the heroic devotion of the Catholic missioners; the clergy, so far from being supported by those in authority in their attempts to establish schools and orphanages and to spread the religion of Jesus Christ, had been discouraged in their zealous and self-denying efforts; the Sisters of Charity and other religious institutions had been established there rather in spite of the French authorities than with their sanction and aid. Even the Archbishop and those around him met with but cold courtesy at the hands of a government which was at best but half Christian. Its policy was to divide the country into two nationalities, the French and the Arab, and to keep them entirely apart. This had been the system pursued ever since Algeria passed into French hands. One of the leading newspapers, *Le Royaume Arabe,* openly advocated it. It was the representative of a number of generals who were all-powerful at the French court and who were opposed to colonization and the assimilation of the two races, and to the spread of Christianity."

The first Bishop of Algiers after the conquest—as Mgr. Lavigerie reminded the Governor General in a letter defending himself against unfounded charges brought against him by the anti-Christian faction, who had determined to undo his work if possible and to ruin him if they could—was abandoned by those in power and obliged to fly from the land which he had watered with his tears and the sweat of his brow; and, had it not been for the generous interference of Prince Louis Napoleon (afterwards Napoleon III.), he would have died a prisoner. Every one knew that in handing over Mgr. Dupuch to the tender mercies of his greedy creditors they were handing over in his person the apostle who stood in the way of the anti-religious schemes which had long since been formed and were being carried into execution. His successor, Mgr. Pavy, was forbidden to enter into any relations with the Arabs, while the venerated superior of

[8] *Op. cit.*, c. iii., p. 54.

the Grand Seminary was publicly threatened with imprisonment, and even the galleys, for having picked up in the gutters of Algiers some little orphan boys of whom he wanted to make useful members of society. While Christianity was oppressed, Mohammedanism was promoted by a so-called Christian nation. A pilgrimage to Mecca by the Mussulmans of Algeria was accomplished at the cost of the State, and the doctrines of the Koran were taught, in the name of Catholic France, to a people who were unacquainted with them, such as the inhabitants of Kabylia. Little wonder that the French residents were constrained to say in the petition presented on the subject of the establishment of a bishopric: "The Arabs reproach us that we have no religion; that we are Christians, but do not fulfill the duties of such, and, according to them, a man is no man who does not pray;" a well-put and well-merited rebuke to modern skeptics.

Speaking of the Arab tribes, Lavigerie wrote: "From a moral point of view they have acquired our vices without learning our virtues, and have shown themselves obstinately opposed to everything in the shape of progress or amelioration. Such is the result of the rule of Christian France during a period of eight and thirty years! Is it not high time to have done with a system so fatal in its consequences, so absolutely condemned by the voice both of God and man?"

What the Archbishop contended for was the definite cessation of the system which separated the country into two castes—the one Arab, the other French—and the inauguration of that fusion of races which could alone ensure their own future. Mgr. Lavigerie, who was the first to raise the sombre veil which shrouded from the eyes of France the sufferings of Algeria, which, for politic reasons, had been concealed as far as possible from the knowledge of Europe, declared in a letter to the Emperor that the only chance of saving the native races was their rapid and complete assimilation. All unprejudiced minds recognized that his Christian villages and orphan settlements were the first practical and successful attempts at the much desired fusion of races, which his opponents sought to prevent. His two predecessors complained bitterly of the manner in which their efforts were frustrated by political intrigues or exigencies; but the apostasy over which they had to grieve was not that of the Mussulmans, whom they could not convert, but that of Christians and Frenchmen, who openly disavowed the religion of their country, and were afterwards raised to the highest posts in the Algerian government. Catholic and Christian France, which these men misrepresented and misgoverned, became the supporter of the Crescent against the Cross. The public funds were employed in propagating Islamism, in repairing and building mosques and erecting schools in

which Arab children were taught a creed, an essential element of which is hatred and contempt of Christianity. Nor was this all. When some of the French missioners had gathered into a Catholic home the waifs and strays of the city, children deserted by their parents or orphans who had no one to befriend them, they were threatened with fines and imprisonment if they did not desist from their work of charity. The separation between the two nations was complete.[9]

The obstacles presented by the timid policy of the government to the evangelization of the Arabs were removed in a great measure by the direct interposition of Providence. In the year 1868, close upon the footsteps of cholera, followed a second and yet more terrible scourge, a severe famine, the result of two years of excessive drought and the ravages of a swarm of locusts. The Arabs, left destitute of any provision against this visitation, were reduced to pitiable straits. No less than 500,000 succumbed to famine and fever; for an outbreak of typhus came to complete the misery. But the colonial government, instead of taking prompt measures for the relief of the people, through fear of public opinion, already strongly adverse to their policy, studiously suppressed all details of their sufferings and drove the famished wretches away from the towns. The country was consequently covered with troops of starving wanderers, clothed in rags, resembling skeletons rather than human beings, who might be seen rooting up and eating the very grass of the fields to stay the pangs of hunger. The roadside was daily strewn with the corpses of those who perished from want and exhaustion; and in the course of a few months thousands of unhappy children were left orphans by the death or abandonment of their relatives and were found straying from house to house in search of food, or dying of fever and starvation in the desolate huts which contained the putrefying corpses of their parents.[10]

Having tried in vain to arouse the authorities to a sense of humanity, the Archbishop made a heart-stirring appeal to all Christians to hasten to the rescue of their famishing fellow-creatures. In response a stream of charity poured in from all parts of Christendom; priests and laymen, religious of various orders, ladies of rank, physicians, soldiers, all lent their aid and gave their personal service. The wished for opportunity of reaching the soul of the Arab through the bodily assistance afforded him by Christian charity had now arrived. But it was to the poor orphans, whose minds were not yet obscured by pride and prejudice, that Mgr. Lavigerie looked with special confidence as supplying the good soil wherein the Word of God might

[9] Father Clarke, S. J., *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[10] *Ibid*, pp. 37, 38.

be sown with the well founded hope of obtaining a plentiful return.[11] He soon had two thousand of them on his hands. Though he was much blamed and laughed at for what people were pleased to call his impudence, throughout the whole of that calamitous period not one unhappy outcast was ever turned away; not a single child knocked at his door or that of any other priest without finding admittance.

The number of children received into the two large orphanages, one (for boys) founded first at Ben-Aknoun and afterwards transferred to the Maison Carrée in the vicinity of Algiers, and the other at Kouba (for girls), from November, 1867, until June, 1868, when a fresh harvest put an end to the famine, was no less than 1,800. Of these about 500 died; others, but not so many, were claimed by their relatives as soon as the distribution of relief afforded them the means of subsistence. About 1,000 remained, and for these the Archbishop was enabled to provide. Such was the origin of the Arab orphanages.

Convinced that country life and agricultural labor is far preferable for the children of the lower orders, especially the waifs and strays of the world, than life in towns, where they too often yield to the temptations which beset them, he determined on the establishment of Christian villages, the inhabitants of which should be principally employed in the cultivation of the soil. With this view he purchased large tracts of fertile land for a new agricultural settlement, placed under the patronage of the great African martyr, St. Cyprian. The land was divided into allotments, streets made and cottages built to receive the newly married couples. A chapel was erected in the midst of the village, with a presbytery for the priest, who was the temporal guide as well as spiritual father of the infant colony. It was in the year 1873 that the first married couples, having plighted their vows and received a fervent blessing on their union from the good Archbishop, came to take possession of their new homes. Thus was the Christian colony of St. Cyprian formally inaugurated, an event which Mgr. Lavigerie hoped would be regarded with approval by the government, since should the result be successful, no surer means could be found to bring about the fusion of races and prevent the gradual retreat or eventual extinction of the conquered people in presence of the powerful and prosperous invader. He knew the Arab nature and correctly judged that the example of Christians of their own race and kindred leading a settled and laborious but happy and tranquil life would exercise a beneficial influence on the wandering tribes who peopled the neighboring plains. Nor was he disappointed. The experiment proved a success. A few years later the foundation of this first village was followed by that of a second

[11] *Ibid*, p. 39.

on the same model a few miles distant and dedicated to St. Monica. It was the delight of the Archbishop to visit his adopted children, to counsel and encourage them, to witness their growing numbers, their increasing prosperity and their steady perseverance.

"The villages," he wrote some years later, "are the salvation of our children. There, gathered together under the eye of the missioner, encouraging and helping one another by mutual example, they are sheltered from the dangers to which they would be exposed in any other part of the colony. The Christian village is an oasis in the desert; all around is sadly desolate and parched up by human passions. Here grow up not only my children, but my grandchildren, for I have been for some years a grandfather, the greater part of the cottages being now enlivened with the presence of one or two or even three little ones. I wish you could come with me to visit the village of St. Cyprian and see me surrounded by a crowd of little folk who call me 'grandpapa Bishop,' pull me by my cassock and climb upon my knees to see if I have any goodies to distribute. I submit to all with joy and thank God, who has made use of the charity of the faithful to give life to so many innocent creatures, destined to be one day the instruments of His wise designs. The houses stand apart and are arranged in regular streets. They are humble, it is true, but they are bright with cleanliness—one of the most attractive signs of civilization. A church—poor, indeed, but clean and spotless like the other buildings which it overlooks—is surmounted by that sign of peaceful conquest, the cross, which is destined to give spiritual life to this land, so long bent under the yoke of death."

Seguin in the interesting work, "Walks in Algiers,"[12] thus describes the orphanage of St. Charles Borromeo, situate in the direction of Koubba: "This orphange, named after the Milanese saint who owes his canonization to his noble exertions among his plague-stricken townsmen, was founded with other institutions of the same kind by Monseigneur Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, at the time of the famine in 1867. This is the home of the female orphans, that for boys being at Maison Carrée, both of which establishments are doing, and likely to do, a good work in the colony. The children were literally picked up out of the streets, most of them in a starving condition. They are brought up as agriculturists, even the girls cultivating the farm which is attached to their asylum. Groups of them, in their picturesque white dresses, may be seen at work in the orchards and fields about Koubba and Birkhadem, under the superintendence of a sisterhood, who share their labors. The notion

[12] "Walks in Algiers and Its Surroundings," by L. G. Seguin. London, Strahan.

of this field labor for females may not be altogether consonant with our notions, but outdoor work is, in Algiers, accompanied with far less hardships than in our damp climate, and it is probably felt to be a good education for the future wives of colonists. This is the destiny for which the girls are being prepared, and as soon as they arrive at woman's estate they are married in a somewhat summary fashion to the eligible inmates of the male orphanage. Probably the pairing is not more arbitrary than the generality of French marriages, and the households of these young people, Christianized, civilized and in a measure educated, are likely to prove more harmonious and well regulated than that of the ordinary Arab. The plan seems at least to be succeeding, and already one large and flourishing village has been peopled by Christian natives from these schools of waifs and strays. There are at present about two hundred girls in the orphanage."

Maison Carrée, six miles from Algiers, derives its name from an old Turkish fort which was built at the beginning of the eighteenth century to guard the bridge over the Harrach, as its Arab name, Bordj-el-Kantara, the fort of the bridge, implies. It was also used by the Turks for overawing and making raids upon the surrounding Arab tribes. By the treaty of Tafna with Abd-el-Kader this little fortress was the limit of the French territory eastward of Algiers. The surrounding marshes have now been drained and the country brought into a particularly advanced state of cultivation. Before arriving at the fort an extensive and prosperous farm will be observed. This is worked by Arab orphans and is the companion institution to the female orphange between Koubba and Birkhaden, above referred to. Vegetables are the chief products of the farm, artichokes being considered the specialty, besides which the largest vineyard in Algeria has been planted by these young workmen. The ground was bought in 1867, a mere marsh, by Mgr. Lavigerie, and was placed under the care of the Missionaires d'Afrique. In addition to the care of the orphans, they prepare themselves for missionary work in Central Africa. They wear the Arab costume, devote themselves to the study of Arabic and accustom themselves as much as possible to the life of the natives. While the missioners are thus endeavoring to assimilate themselves to the Arabs, the orphans are, on the contrary, being educated into Europeans. They are taught Latin and French, together with farming on the most approved European system, wear the European dress and are occasionally sent for a while to France so as to give them some notion of European life.[13]

The most important feature of Koubba, where the female orphanage is situated, is a large ecclesiastical college, which from its com-

[13] Seguin, *op. cit.*

manding position attracts the stranger's gaze from the moment of his first arriving in Algiers; and every evening at sundown afterwards—when, the coast and lesser heights left in shadow, the rosy-golden light lingers lovingly upon the white dome and long façade, that crown the eastern spur of the Sahel. The college is divided into two sections—one for boys and the other for older students, each about thirty in number. It consists of two long corridors leading out of a fine central court, in which is the church and where on Sundays there is an excellent musical service, to which strangers are admitted without difficulty. The Archbishop of Algiers has apartments in the Séminaire.[14] The grounds of the college are very extensive, and though a considerable portion of them is utilized for the production of the vine, they are laid out with much taste and order. A little building in the garden, now used as a chapel, is that which gives the neighboring village its name. It is a Koubba or small mosque built by Hadji Pasha some time in the sixteenth century. In the garden also on the seaward side, that is overlooking the winding road which leads down to the Ruisseau, is a very handsome Calvary, with chapels, grottoes and stations, ornamented with sculptured work.[15]

Although there are more than sixty millions of Mussulman Africans in North Africa, Mahommedanism, still a power, and a formidable, organized power, to be counted with, is receding in Algiers. Before the French conquest there were no less than a hundred Mahommedan temples in Algiers. There are now only five, the others having been pulled down or converted into churches or used for other purposes. It is retributive justice. The architect of the Mosque of the Pêcherie, a Christian slave, a Genoese, forced by his Moslem tyrants to a work uncongenial to him, revenged himself by perpetuating in the Mahommedan temple, built in the shape of a Latin cross, the symbol of his own faith, and suffered death by impalement in consequence. Outside the gateway of old Algiers is a pretty little mosque which has been converted into the Church of the Holy Cross. The Church of Our Lady of Victories was, likewise, formerly a mosque. It has a beautifully carved doorway, the work of a native artist, a fine white marble altar and a piece of sculpture representing the Virgin and Child. The Cathedral of St. Philip was also primitively a mosque. When the French took possession of Algiers they found on what is now the Place Malakoff a handsome though modern mosque, erected in 1794 on the site of a more

[14] The Archbishop's residence is known among the Arabs as the house of Aziza, daughter of the Bey. It was originally part of the royal palace of Djenina, which for so many centuries was the seat of Arab and Turkish misrule in Algiers.

[15] *Ibid*, p. 319.

ancient one, by Pasha Hassan, and usually known by his name. Very shortly after the conquest this mosque was converted into a church, the altar being placed so as to cover the ancient nimbar, and the texts of the Koran enjoining constancy in prayer and faith in God left undisturbed in the vault of the cupola.

The pilgrimage Church of Notre Dame d'Afrique, built in the Byzatine style, with a high central dome rising from a cluster of smaller ones and flanked by a tall and graceful clock tower or minaret, occupying a conspicuous position on the spur of Mount Bou-Zarea and forming a prominent feature in all the views from the northwest side of Algiers, was begun by Archbishop Pavy in 1858 as a sort of thank offering for the establishment of the French and the revival of Christianity in North Africa. A black Virgin (Notre Dame d'Afrique) occupies the place of honor over the high altar, and at the feet of the statue lie the swords of Marshal Pelissier and General Yusuf. In one of the chapels is a solid silver statue of the Archangel Michael, valued at about £4,000, the offering of the Neapolitan fishermen. Around the church are numerous votive offerings, testifying to the favors obtained through the intercession of Our Lady of Africa and to the piety of the Catholic population. The church is much frequented by sailors, and many of the offerings are grateful tributes to Our Lady for protection from the perils of the sea. Every Sunday afternoon after Vespers a remarkable and most impressive ceremony takes place here. From the little platform in front of the church, which overlooks the sea, a funeral service for the shipwrecked—those whose vast grave lies spread out on all sides as far as the eye can reach—is chanted. The effect is described as altogether solemn and beautiful. Attached to the church are some religious houses, a monastery and a school for Arab boys destined for the priesthood, called *le petit seminaire*. Another impressive sight has often been witnessed in the Church of Blidah, a barrack town. During the celebration of Mass on Sunday morning a military band stationed in the church provides the music, while a guard of honor standing before the high altar presents arms with a great clattering of steel on the stone pavement at the elevation of the Host and chalice.

The Good Shepherd nuns and the Little Sisters of the Poor are also represented in Algiers, and until recent years the Jesuits had charge of orphanages in which foundlings sent from France were educated at the expense of the State, instructed in farming and prepared either to become colonists or enter the army. The beautifully laid out grounds with their alleys of cyprus and mulberry trees, which were formerly the pride of the Jesuits, are now rented by a market gardener, and the orphanage and clergy house, together with

a very handsome and large chapel, ornamented with good stained glass windows, stand empty or are only occasionally used as storehouses for corn.

The past and the present, represented by mediæval monks and modern missioners, white-robed Cistercians and Lavigerie's White Fathers and black-robed Jesuits, have met to labor together in the common work of the regeneration and re-Christianization of North Africa, living symbols of the Church's continuity and vitality and adaptability to every age and every clime. Mgr. Lavigerie's efforts to further and promote the interests of agriculture, which is the very soul and spirit of colonial life in Algeria, were greatly aided by the Trappists of the extensive monastery at Staouëli, who proved by their own example what industry and economy can do.[16] In the year 1843 permission to build a monastery and a grant of about 2,500 acres were obtained from the government by this religious order. The land was then almost a desert, or rather a jungle of brushwood and palmetto, the favorite haunt of the wild boar. The Trappists, worthy descendants of those monks of the West to whom European civilization is so largely indebted, covered it with vineyards, corn fields and gardens. A fine farm adjoins the monastery, and the monks pride themselves on their breeds of cattle, horses and sheep. They also cultivate enormous fields of geraniums, from which they distil perfumes, and are noted for their good wine, which needs no bush. The wine cellar is one of the chief sights of the monastery, over which male visitors are willingly conducted, for the canon law does not permit a woman's foot to pass the threshold of the enclosure. In order that ladies may partake of Trappist hospitality, which is proverbial, a couple of small refectories have been built just outside the walls, where two Brothers of the order receive all visitors with a kindly and simple grace, and where the best cheer the monastery affords is spread upon the snow-white wooden board—bread, butter, cheese, fruit and excellent wine, all home-made. A box for alms enables visitors to acquit themselves of the purely voluntary pecuniary obligation for these hospitalities. Miss Edwards, in her pleasant book, "A Winter With the Swallows," describing a visit she paid to the monastery, says: "One of the Brothers superior entertained us; he was a shrewd, cheerful looking man of fifty, quite *au courant* with the affairs of the outer world, quick to read character and apt, I should say, at ruling his fellow-creatures. We had an animated discussion on the present state of the Roman Church. . . . The father beat us hollow. He was so witty, so enthusiastic, so well trained in the use of facts, so apt at tripping you up with a truism, that we had nothing to say to him, and he saw it delightedly. When

[16] Rev. R. F. Clarke, S. J., *op. cit.*

other subjects were brought forward our host had plenty to tell us about his convent and its prospects. He seemed pleased to hear his wine praised, which, with everything else on the table, was the product of the Trappist farms, and brought out some oranges of particular flavor as a special little attention. We were quite sorry to go, and promised the father we should not easily forget either our talk or our entertainment at Staouëli." The ground which the monastery and its adjuncts occupy is the spot where the first battle was fought by the French in 1830. The foundation stone was laid upon a bed of bullets, relics of the fight.

After a storm there cometh a calm; after fighting, fraternization. Although the conquered race were naturally reluctant to accept the conqueror's creed, and the work of evangelization and fusion was impeded, much has been done to shed the kindly light of Christian civilization over this strip of the Dark Continent since the queen of the North African littoral, the whitest city of the East, was transformed into a French settlement; although Seguin, for æsthetic reasons, regrets the transformation of that part of Algiers which looks upon the sea, the boulevard which now fronts the town having swept away eighty thousand quaint, flat-roofed Moorish houses, the policy of the French appearing to him to have been to efface as much as possible the Algiers of the past, and to substitute in its stead a commonplace and utterly uninteresting French town. Mussulman Algiers as it existed in 1830 has rapidly disappeared. M. Berbrugger, conservator of the Bibliothèque in Algiers, regards its effacement as "a vandalism dishonoring even to a barbarous nation."

In the Lycée or college near Notre Dame des Victoires youths of all races, both Christian and Mahommedan, are educated together, the religious instruction of each creed being provided for. Formerly it was not by any means safe for Europeans to attend native fairs, and troops were called out to protect any strangers who might venture to present themselves. Now Europeans and natives mingle peacefully, if not amiably, together.

Notwithstanding this fusion and fraternization, Mohammedanism must be regarded as a strong, subtle and powerful opposing force, and will always have to be encountered and combatted.[17] Slavery will completely disappear long before it shall have disappeared. "Between the religion of Mohammed and the religion of Jesus

[17] "Mohammedanism, overthrown and dying out in Europe, is, however, making rapid and alarming progress among the native population of Africa. It is imposed upon them by force. It created provinces and kingdoms, and is said to have subdued during the last hundred years no less than 50,000,000 souls to its iron yoke. Equatorial Africa will assuredly share the fate of the surrounding countries if its heathen population are left to themselves."—Letter by Mgr. Lavigerie to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

Christ," says Father Clarke,[18] "there always has been and always will be war to the death. The religion of Mohammed is the most powerful, the most determined, the most successful enemy that the religion of Christ has encountered."

Sir W. Muir, in his "Life of Mahomet," says: "They labor under a miserable delusion who suppose that Mahometanism paves the way for a purer faith. No system could have been devised with more consummate skill for shutting out the nations over which it has swayed from the light of truth. *Idolatrous* Arabia (judging from the analogy of other nations) might have been aroused to spiritual life and to the adoption of the faith of Jesus; *Mahometan* Arabia is to the human eye sealed against the benign influences of the Gospel. Many a flourishing land in Africa and in Asia which once rejoiced in the light and liberty of Christianity is now overspread by gross darkness and barbarism. It is as if their day of grace had come and gone, and there remained to them no more sacrifice for sins. That a brighter day will yet dawn on these countries we may not doubt, but the history of the past and the condition of the present are not the less sad and true. The sword of Mahomet and the Corân are the most stubborn enemies of civilization, liberty and truth which the world has yet known."

Innumerable Christians have been sacrificed to the Moloch of Mohammedanism. Close to the seashore, washed by the blue waves of the Mediterranean, and now engulfed beneath them, was the melancholy but sacred little strip of land where, year after year, in the dark days of Algerian terrorism, hundreds of unfortunate Christians found a repose which life denied them—their only escape from a hopeless and cruel slavery.[19] It was the old Christian burial ground of Algiers. The origin of the Christian cemetery, as Berbrugger relates,[20] is owing to an act of singular beneficence which deserves to be recorded. A Capuchin friar, once confessor of Don Juan of Austria, was enduring in Algiers all the miseries of slavery. The hero of Lepanto being informed of this, sent his old friend a considerable sum of money in order to purchase his liberty; but the good priest during his captivity had been a witness of the inhumanity of the Turks, who refused even to bury their unfortunate Christian slaves when their sad lives ended. Instead, therefore, of using the money sent him for his own enfranchisement, he devoted a portion of it to the purchase of a tract of land beside the seashore, where for the future his fellow-sufferers would find a resting place, and with the remainder of the money he liberated several other slaves whose

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 302.
[19] Seguin, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
[20] "L'Algerie."

cases he thought sadder than his own. Happy in his good deeds, he ended his life amid the horrors from which he had freed others, leaving behind him not even a name by which posterity can bless him. In the little cemetery which the Christians owed to him his place was unmarked. Of the cemetery, Mussulman or Christian, no trace now remains. In 1832 the old burial ground was swept away without much regard to the sacred memories of the place, and the spot which was once God's acre is now devoted to military exercises.

The adjoining Arsenal d'Artillerie, which occupies the site of the old Turkish fort, known to Europeans as the Fort des Vingt-Quatre Heures, recalls another instance of Christian heroism. The name is crediby stated to have originated in the tragedy which occurred during the erection of this fortress, namely, the martyrdom of the Christian slave Geronimo, which occupied exactly the space of twenty-four hours. We owe the account which we have of his life and death to the pen of the Spanish Benedictine, Haedo, Abbot of Fromesta, who in 1612 wrote a history and most accurate and remarkable description of Algiers and was for many years in the service of the Primate of Palermo, who, moved by the misery which the Christians suffered in Algiers and the terrible evils which resulted therefrom to Christianity, employed a great part of his fortune in reclaiming Christian captives from slavery. It was from the mouths of these fugitives, whom the Archbishop received and succored, that his secretary or almoner got his information.

In 1540, when the Spaniards held possession of Oran, during one of their raids into the country the soldiers took prisoner a little Arab child, whom they put up for sale as a slave. The baby prisoner was bought by the Vicar General, Juan Caro, who baptized him under the name of Geronimo, and taking him to his own house educated him and treated him with much kindness. Later on he was carried home by some Arab slaves, who, during an attack of plague when the garrison of Oran was camping out in the fields and discipline was relaxed, managed to make their escape, and thinking to do the boy a kindness, took him with them. For some years he lived among his own people, a professed Mahommedan, but he subsequently returned to Oran of his own accord and to his old master, Juan Caro, desiring, as he said, "henceforth to live in the faith of the Divine Saviour."

It was with the greatest joy and satisfaction the Vicar General welcomed back the young Arab. He took him at once into his service and treated him with great affection. When he reached the age of manhood and had given evidence of bravery, he was permitted to enter the Spanish guard as a paid soldier. His patron afterwards married him in his own house to a young Arab slave, who

was also a convert to Christianity. Geronimo, after gaining both credit and honors in his military career, had the misfortune in May, 1569, to be made a prisoner by the Algerine pirates. He accompanied a party of nine Spaniards, who had received orders to make a descent upon the coast at some little distance from Oran, where there was reported to be an Arab encampment. They were chased by two Moorish brigantines, and the whole party, with the exception of the leader, who managed to escape, were made prisoners. As it was the custom that the Pasha should take as his own share of the spoil two out of every ten whom they made captive, Geronimo and another fell to the lot of the Governor, who was at that time Euldj-Ali, a Calabrian renegade. Geronimo, finding himself one of the slaves of the Pasha, was immediately carried to the Bagno or prison. The fact of his having been an Arab by birth who had abandoned his own nation and creed to become a Christian led to his persecution when it became known. He was loaded with a heavy chain and not allowed to leave the prison even to work with his fellow-slaves. Every effort to shake his faith or fortitude failed. The only answer he made to their arguments, promises or threats was not to expend unnecessary breath, for that nothing in the world, neither terrors nor persuasions, would induce him to forsake Christianity. Sometimes, after one of his interviews with their learned men, priests and marabouts, he would say to his companion Christian captives: "These people think that they will make me become a Mussulman, but that they will never do, even if they kill me." The Moors, finding themselves baffled and beaten in argument, demanded for this disobedient son of Ishmael such a punishment as should at least act as an example and warning to other renegades. The Pasha conceived the diabolical design of having him entombed alive, walled up in a bastion or fort which was being constructed, and intimated it to one of his Christian slaves, Maitre Michel, a Navarrese mason, who sought Geronimo and told him the cruel order which had been given, exhorting him to patience and at the same time bidding him prepare for death. Geronimo did not lose heart, but replied resolutely: "God's will be done. Let not these miserable men think that they will frighten me out of the faith of Christ by the idea of this cruel death. May our blessed Saviour only pardon my sins and preserve my soul." Some of the Christians who stood around and heard these words did their best to console and encourage Geronimo, who answered: "I have confidence in the Lord that He will by His grace give me strength to suffer for His Holy Name; but I entreat you all to commend me to God." He passed the whole of that night in prayer and pious exercises, assisted by a priest, one of the Pasha's slaves. It was scarcely 3 o'clock in the morning when three or four janissaries entered the

Bagno and demanded Geronimo, who was still at prayer in the church. When summoned he advanced to meet these men, who assailed him with abusive epithets, such as dog, coward, Jew and traitor, and asked him why he refused to return to the faith of his fathers. But to all this the servant of God did not answer so much as by a single word. The janissaries at once led him to the fort which was to be the scene of his glorious death. There the Pasha himself awaited him, accompanied by a great number of Turks and renegades. "Well, dog," said he, "so you refuse to return to the faith of Islam?" "I am a Christian, and a Christian I will die," replied the martyr. "As you please," returned the Pasha. "Then here," showing him a mould of concrete, "you shall be buried alive." "Do your will," said the holy man intrepidly, filled with a singular courage. "I am prepared. The prospect of death is not likely to make me abandon the faith of Our Saviour Jesus Christ." The chain about his leg was removed, his feet and hands tied and he was placed at the bottom of the block of concrete, face downwards. A renegade Spaniard, known to the Christians as Tamango and to the Turks as Djafer, then jumped on the martyr's body and called out loudly to those about him to bring earth to fill in the grave. "His cruel desire," writes Haedo in his "Historia e Topografia de Argel" (1612), "was soon gratified, and the earth was heaped over the body of this saint of the Lord, who, meekly suffering all things like a lamb, opened not his mouth. When the earth was filled in Tamango began beating it down with his hands and feet. Seeing which the other renegades, desiring also to show themselves good Mussulmen and accomplished Turks, came to his assistance and, jumping upon the earth, trod it down under their feet. Thus between them was accomplished the death of this noble martyr of Christ, while the spirit of Geronimo, we may well believe, was received by Our Saviour among the number of His saints in heaven, to receive there the crown and reward of his holy and glorious death. The Pasha assisted at the whole of this spectacle, accompanied by a vast number of Turks, renegades and Moors, who looked on with great pleasure and contentment. When all was ended and the body of the holy man enclosed in his noble sepulchre, Euldj-Ali returned to his palace, saying as he went that he could scarcely have thought the Christian would have met death with so much courage. This happened in the middle of September (the 18th) of the year 1569, and will be a day ever memorable to those who love the name of Our Saviour Christ. The Christians who worked at the fort Bab-el-Oued deliberated afterwards if they could by any means obtain the body of the martyr, but it did not seem to them possible on account of the constant presence of the Turks and the men who acted as overseers."

Haedo, whose account of the martyrdom was translated from the Spanish into French by M. Berbrugger and published in the *Akhbar,* an Algerine paper, on October 5, 1847, very minutely indicated the exact spot where the martyr's body lay. "If the fortress is examined on the side looking towards the north," he wrote, "it is easy to perceive the very spot which encloses the holy body, because on that side of the wall is a block which is indented and uneven. In truth, the body of the martyr having decomposed, the earth of this particular block has sunk in such a manner as to be quite remarkable."

M. Berbrugger, who frequently examined this wall, was struck by a huge cactus which had grown up against one of the blocks and covered it with its leaves, and surmised that Geronimo's bones possibly rested there. He was not mistaken. It was behind this very cactus that the skeleton of Geronimo was found, enclosed in a block of pisa, in which his body had left an impression, when the fortress was demolished in 1853. The position was very much that described by Haedo. The hands were tied together behind the back, the legs had the appearance of having been wrenched apart by a convulsive movement. Most of the ribs of the skeleton were found broken, which bore out in a remarkable manner Haedo's record of the martyrdom; and his description of Geronimo's person applies equally well to the remains discovered. "The martyr Geronimo," writes the Benedictine, "was at the time of his death about thirty-five years of age, small and spare. His skin was very brown, like all the Moors of his country of Barbery." The Arab type of face is plainly discernible in the plaster cast taken of the mould formed by the martyr's body to be seen at the Biblithèque Musée, formerly the palace of Mustapha Pasha, the best preserved specimen of the ornate style of domestic Arab architecture now existing in Algiers. The cords on the wrist and even the texture of the clothing are apparent. Every circumstance points to the identity of the remains found with those of Geronimo, martyred three hundred years before, buried, as Haedo had described it, "in the sight of all," namely, on the very angle of the fort, past which was the chief road into the city. Immediately after their discovery Mgr. Pavy, Archbishop of Algiers, who had taken the keenest interest in the search for the martyr's remains, went to Rome and took the necessary steps for the introduction of his cause before the Congregation of Rites. The removal of the bones and of the block of concrete bearing the impress of the martyr's body to the Cathedral of St. Philip was authorized by Pius IX. at the beginning of 1854, the translation being signalized by an impressive function, over which Archbishop Pavy presided. The tomb, which is in a chapel to the right of the entrance, is a white marble sarcophagus bearing the inscription, "Ossa venerabilis servi Dei

Geronimo," together with the date of the discovery of the relics and their interment in the Cathedral.

Heroism and martyrdom are not things of the past in the Catholic Church, not dim and misty legends of remote ages, but of frequent occurrence in the living present, as the contemporary records of the vast missionary work being carried on in every part of the globe by the pioneers, the advance guard of the Church's sacred army on the outposts of civilization and in savage lands abundantly testify. When in 1877 the International Association was formed with main object of abolishing slavery, that open sore of the world,[21] and in opening out a route across the equatorial regions of Africa for the explorer and the trader, an opening was made for the messenger of the Gospel, it was to Mgr. Lavigerie and the society instituted by him for the special purpose of evangelizing the Arab and Negro races Pius IX. turned, assigning to the Algerian missioners the first share in the glorious work of the Catholic missions in Central Africa. Three of their number had already shed their blood in the Sahara, on the way to Timbuktu, whither they had hoped to carry the light of faith. They were no empty words which Mgr. Lavigerie inscribed as the motto of his missionary society on the papers presented to him by a priest from one of the most tranquil and well ordered dioceses of France in order to obtain his authorization to say Mass. Instead of the usual formula he wrote across them the words, "Endorsed for martyrdom" (*Vu pour le martyre*), and returned them to him, saying: "Read that; are you prepared for it?" "It is for this that I have come here," was his reply. Such was the spirit which animated the spiritual sons of Lavigerie who were to be found not only in Algiers and at Tunis, amid the ruins of Carthage on the spot where St. Louis of France breathed his last,[22] but in the dark depths of the Continent, in the last hiding places of a brutal barbarism where cannibalism still prevails and slavery in its most degrading forms. It was this spirit which moved the Apostle of Algiers to

[21] "My missioners, the White Fathers—so called on account of their habit," Cardinal Lavigerie told the Anti-Slavery Society in London at a meeting held on July 31, 1888—"are established in the Sahara and upon the high table-lands of Central Africa, from the north of Nyanza to the south of Tanganyika. Eleven of them have suffered martyrdom, whilst more than fifty others have died from fatigue and hardships."

[22] On the taking of Algiers, in 1830, Charles X., who then occupied the throne of France, obtained from the Bey of Tunis the cession of the plot of ground where tradition states that St. Louis died. Ten years later a chapel and dwelling house were erected there by Louis Philippe in memory of his illustrious ancestor. By an unaccountable mistake, the statue of Charles V. (le Sage) had been sent from France to Tunis instead of the statue of St. Louis, and the massive proportions of the marble figure above the altar were a sorry representation of the angelic features and attenuated form of the saintly Crusader.

uplift his eloquent voice in pathetic and passionate pleadings to succor and rescue from the inhuman monsters who trafficked in human flesh the wretched Negroes, victims of one of the most revolting and appalling crimes against humanity, appealing from a London platform to all to join him in the utterance of a loud cry to God first of all, and then to all Christian people, "God save Africa!" It was this spirit of the apostolate, manifest in word and work, which, to use Montalembert's words,[23] made the hearts of all Catholics throughout Europe thrill with admiration and acquired for him an enviable place in history.

In embracing Christianity the Algerines, or the large majority of them, were, according to Lavigerie, returning to the faith of their forefathers,[24] since most tribes are of Berber descent. Of the eight distinct races in Algeria the Kabyles or Berbers, descendants of the original inhabitants, occupying chiefly the mountainous parts, are the most active and industrious, living in villages and principally engaged in agriculture and fruit growing. Among them, we are told, the virtues of honesty, hospitality and good nature are conspicuous. "It is not their misfortune alone that the lowlands know them no more, not their misfortune only that Mohammedanism has debarred them from entering, as they would otherwise have entered, on the path of European progress and liberty; it is the misfortune of the whole civilized world. Descendants of a mighty race whose culture once spread from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and the Hauran, from Crete to Timbuctoo and the Soudan, there are still to be found among them the vestiges of the arts and sciences, of the spirit of conquest and the capacity for self-government which, if developed, would make them again a great nation."[25]

When the French conquered the once powerful mountain tribe of the Kabyles they treated them with special clemency, left them undisturbed in the possession of their property, and in no way interfered with the internal government, by which for many centuries they had regulated their own affairs. The Kabyle or Berber

[23] *Correspondant*, May 25, 1868.

[24] Leo XIII., in the bull reëstablishing the ancient primatial See of Carthage, recalls how Carthage had once been amongst the first to receive the faith of Christ—Carthage, whose name evoked memories of so many saints and martyrs, so many Bishops and doctors, of Perpetua and Felicitas, of Augustin, Tertullian and of Cyprian; how Carthage had been the scene of much heroism and courage under the persecution of proconsuls, the violence of Vandals, the merciless onslaught of Moslems; and how she had, until her final destruction, held unrivaled sway over the Church of Northern Africa, for hers was the metropolitan see, and to her authority 750 churches were subject. The ruins of ancient Carthage, now almost entirely buried beneath the sand of the desert and overgrown with grass, are situated on the shores of the Mediterranean, about ten miles from the city of Tunis.

[25] "Among the Berbers in Algeria," pp. 4, 5.

is the pet of the French community in Algeria, although the insurrection of 1871 was almost entirely confined to the Kabyles. In the famous Tombeau de la Chretienne, called by the natives Kober-Roumia—the tomb of the Christian woman—at Algiers, what is presumed to have been a refuge for some early persecuted Christians has been found. The most important portion of the interesting ruins of the Roman seaport town Tipasa in Algeria consists of the remains of a large square church, the massive stone walls of which are wonderfully perfect, and a vast number of tombs, or rather stone coffins standing above the ground into which the calcined ashes of the dead were probably put. These are all without inscriptions, though on some of them the A and O (Alpha and Omega), the Christian monogram, was found. Tipasa was a colony of veterans founded by the Emperor Claudius. It is mentioned by Ptolemy and in the Itinerary of Antoninus. In the year 484 Huneric, the Vandal King, appointed an Arian Bishop to the Catholic See of Tipasa, in consequence of which many of the inhabitants of the city fled to Spain, and those who remained and refused to conform to the Arian doctrine suffered the mutilation of their right hands and tongues.

On the west side of the fort at Sidi Ferruch, where the French army of invasion landed in 1830,[26] are the ruins of a Christian church of the Roman epoch, dedicated to St. Januarius, and a club with iron spikes found among the débris is supposed to be a relic of the saint, who was killed in A. D. 410.

Although Wilkin[27] discounts and discredits the assumption that the Berbers as a race were ever Christians—although he admits that in the palmy days of North African Christianity such of them as happened to dwell in the Roman towns were converted—many have been at pains to show that the blue cross on the forehead between the eyes with which the Berber girls tattoo their faces, contrary to the Koran, which expressly forbids tattooing, is a relic of former

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[26] The entrance to the barrack, built on the site of the old Koubba, ornamented with sculptured trophies of war and peace, bears the following inscription:

Ici, le 14 Juin, 1830,
Par l'ordre du Roi Charles X.,
Sous le Com. du Général de Bourmont,
l'Armée Française,
Vint arborer ses drapeaux,
Rendre la liberté au mers,
Donner l'Algerie à la France.

An Arab tradition long existed to the effect that the Europeans would enter Algeria by Sidi Ferruch. Another Arab prophecy, in which some may see a latent touch of fine irony, predicted the fall of Algiers when the Christians should be at peace together.

[27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 106, 107.

Christianity. Wilkin says they were never at any period of their history other than pagans or Mohammedans; but their Mohammedanism appears to be more or less skin deep. "The Kabyle," says General Daumas,[28] "accepted but did not embrace Islamism. He is clothed with it as with a burnous, keeping beneath it his own social habits."

The writer or compiler of "Walks in Algiers" goes further and says: "The Kabyles pay a very great regard to the teachings, and are very much under the influence of their priests or marabouts, but the influence is personal rather than sacerdotal. They do not consider themselves bound to accept the Koran as an entire rule of faith, and are said to have been in early times better Christians than they have proved themselves Mahommedans. In proof of which are cited their custom of keeping Sunday as the day of prayer, of seldom marrying more than one wife, of treating her as an equal rather than as a slave and of permitting her to go unveiled. In spite of the somewhat rough awakening which some of the too ardent Kabylophiles had in 1871, the philanthropists and politicians of Algeria still look forward with hope to the future of this remarkable people, believing that their qualities of industry, energy and truthfulness will by and by develop them into useful and intelligent citizens, and that as civilization reaches them the traditions of their earlier history will return more and more strongly upon them; that the cross with which the Kabyle women, in dim remembrance of a lost religion, so often tattoo their foreheads, may grow to be no mere barbaric ornament, but the holy symbol of a living faith."

Those traditions take us far back into history. At the close of the eleventh century a Berber dynasty, the Murabits or Almoravides, extended their authority over the greater part of North Africa, until they gave place in the middle of the succeeding century to the Muwahhids or Almohades, whose rule extended from the Atlantic to Tunis and lasted for a hundred years. The rule of these African princes, it is recorded, was generally mild and enlightened. They came for the most part from the native Berber population and were not disposed to be intolerant. The Christians were allowed to retain their churches and worship unmolested.

We read of a Bishop of Fez as late as the thirteenth century, and the Kings of Morocco and Tunis were usually in friendly relations with the Pope. Christians were enrolled in large numbers in the African armies and appointed to civil offices. St. Louis IX. of France was so impressed by the natural piety and the mild and just rule of the Almohades King that he went to Africa on his way to the Holy Land to convert him and died in the attempt. The saintly

[28] "La Kabylie."

monarch may be said to have sacrificed his life for the propagation of the faith in North Africa, and it was in the fitness of things that a lineal representative of his house should have achieved the conquest of Algiers.

R. F. O'Connor.

Cork, Ireland.

ETIENNE BRULE, EXPLORER AND DISCOVERER.

IF THE readers of Parkman or Shea remember at all the name of "Etienne Brulé, the interpreter," it probably brings up a vague image of one who played but a very subordinate part in the drama of adventure and discovery of which this continent was the scene during the seventeenth century. Yet the first white man to set eyes on Lakes Huron, Ontario and Superior, and the earliest explorer of Pennsylvania, Western New York and Ontario surely merits to be rescued from the night of oblivion by some "sacred bard." Now, this is the task that Mr. Butterfield has undertaken in his scholarly "History of Brulé's Discoveries and Explorations,"[1] and the most critical reader of the book will have to admit that the author by his painstaking study of the very meagre details about Brulé's movements left by contemporaries, and by bringing to bear on these scanty documents a well-trained "illative sense," has made good the claims of that intrepid pioneer to the honors of a great discoverer. Moreover, the originality which Mr. Butterfield claims for his narrative is thoroughly justified by the fact that the discoveries which this book proves conclusively to belong to Etienne Brulé, other historians, and Parkman in particular, attribute to Champlain himself.

The successful issue of a long campaign, to be sure, is commonly ascribed to the good generalship of him who directs the marches and devises the manœuvres of the troops, and as Brulé was but a servant or employé of Champlain the achievements of the man to a great extent redound to the glory of the master who directed them. But the "Father of New France" is now so rich in fame that he can well afford to leave Brulé all the honor due that capable subordinate.

Samuel de Champlain, owing to the faithful, modest story he relates of his own exploits and to the tributes paid him both by those

[1] "History of Brulé's Discoveries and Explorations, 1610-1626," by Consul Willshire Butterfield. The Helman Taylor Company, Cleveland, Ohio. The book is published under the patronage of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

who knew him intimately and by later writers, not of his faith or country, is renowned to-day not only as a great explorer, but as a prudent governor and zealous Christian. For from the founding of Quebec by Sieur De Mont's colonists till 1635, Champlain, except for some short intervals, was Lieutenant Governor of the settlement; and during all those years he was a fervent Catholic in his daily life and really an apostle in his eagerness to further, by every means he could, the permanent establishment of Indian missions. Champlain, however, we can assert with safety, would be to-day less famous for his explorations were it not for Etienne Brulé. Champlain's narrative, and that of Sagard and of Caron, too, would be without many an important fact and significant detail they now possess bearing on the language and the customs of the Indians of the Huron country and its neighborhood, and Champlain's knowledge of the vast, dark land that lay to the west would be much more circumscribed had there been no one like the adventurous and intelligent Brulé to carry out most faithfully his master's orders, and even to undertake enterprises of discovery on his own initiative.

Of Brulé's early life we know scarcely anything. Born at Champigny about the year 1592, he came out to New France, as Champlain's servant, in 1608, thus beginning his adventures as a mere boy. It must have been the rugged constitution of the lad, which was destined to endure so many hardships, that enabled him to be one of the eight survivors of the dreadful first winter at Quebec, when the scurvy claimed as victims more than two-thirds of the little colony. A second winter passed, however, before Brulé became a real explorer. Then occurred his opportunity. For Champlain had intended to accompany some friendly Hurons up the Ottawa to their home, just east of Lake Huron, but being unable for some reason to go himself, he tried to find a substitute, one who would be willing to go back with the Indians and with the object of acquiring needed information, explore their country, live their savage life and become familiar with their language and customs. So who should be selected but the eager, fearless and intelligent Brulé. But the Indians at once objected. They were quite unwilling to be answerable for the safety of the lad. Finally, however, after a long parley, the chiefs agreed to take Brulé along, provided one of their young men was permitted to accompany Champlain to France. The agreement was made, the exchange effected, and with instructions from his master "to see the great mysterious lake to the north" (Huron), "to observe the rivers, the people, the mines and the other rare things," one bright June morning in the year 1618 the youthful pioneer bade his friends farewell, took a place in a canoe and set out from St. Ignace Island in the company of several hundred shouting braves for the

Huron country. This was a momentous undertaking on Brulé's part. For in thus visiting the homes of the Hurons, who lived just south of Georgian Bay, "he was the first of Europeans," as Mr. Butterfield well observes, "to ascend the Ottawa—the first white person to stand upon the shores of Lake Nipissing—the first to descend the French river, and the first to discover Lake Huron." Champlain and, some seventy-five years earlier, Cartier also had heard from savages reports about this last great sheet of water; to Brulé it was left actually to set eyes upon it. Parkman,[2] therefore, is in error when he makes Champlain the earliest explorer of this lake. It was not till four years later, in 1615, and in company of Brulé, that Champlain beheld Lake Huron.

The first sight of a "pale face," we may well believe, was a nine days' wonder to those Indians of the Georgian Bay region who had not been near French trading posts. Brulé was treated with the greatest kindness by his Huron hosts during the fall and winter that he passed in their rude palisaded towns, and well improved the opportunities he had to learn the Huron tongue, to observe their habits and to note what was remarkable about their country. So that when he descended the Ottawa the summer following, thus being the first European to shoot Lachine rapids, and returned to the settlement on the St. Lawrence, the wealth and accuracy of the information he brought back, his proficiency as an interpreter and his skill as a woodsman gave Champlain the greatest satisfaction. Accordingly it became the latter's practice to promote the interests of the colony by sending scouts to live among the Indians as Etienne had done. Just where the subject of our sketch passed the next four years we have no certain information. Possibly he was one of the two young men whom Champlain sent, about this time, to the Algonquins. Be that as it may, there is little doubt that the fascination Indian life began to have for Stephen made him mingle more and more freely with the savages in the neighborhood of the trading posts, master several new dialects and become still more expert in woodcraft. When we next hear of Brulé it is in connection with another aspect of his master's Indian policy. When Champlain arrived in Canada in 1609, he found an ancient war raging between the Indians who dwelt in the neighborhood of Quebec, the Montagnais, with whom the more distant Algonquins and Hurons were allied, and the savage Iroquois, or "Five Nations," of New York. Now to carry on his explorations with success Champlain saw that it was necessary to win the friendship of the Canadian Indians, and he knew no better way of gaining it than by going on the warpath with them against their ancient enemies. In the light of after

[2] "Pioneers of France in the New World," Chapter XIII.

events we can see how unfortunate was this decision of Champlain's. By the easy victory he won near the lake which bears his name over the fierce Iroquois, he filled them with a deadly hatred for the French which they never laid aside. The enmity thus aroused worked the ruin eventually of the Jesuit missions in New York and Canada, explains in a measure the ill success attending France's colonizing schemes and aided not a little in England's final conquest of New France.

Now, beside the holy purpose Champlain had at heart throughout his explorations of bringing to the children of the forest Catholic truth, he eagerly desired to find the long sought for "Northwest Passage." Since the days of Christopher Columbus this had been the ambition of nearly every navigator crossing the Atlantic. For the voyage around the Cape to India and China was so long and perilous and the journey overland by caravans so slow and costly that fame and fortune was believed to lay within the grasp of him who found a way of reaching India by sailing west. Though Etienne Brulé, 'tis true, had discovered in the country of the Hurons nothing but a "fresh water sea," romantic stories of vast waters lying far to the Northwest still reached Champlain, and he became persuaded that if he could but gain the sources of the great St. Lawrence he would find not far beyond a salt sea which, of course, could be no other than the well-known North Sea, whose waves must wash the shores of China and the distant Orient. So at last the Northwest Passage would become a glad reality, bringing to the Bourbon lilies wealth and empire and to the fortunate discoverer everlasting fame.

To secure the Hurons' aid in furthering this enterprise, Champlain, in accordance with his policy, readily agreed, in the summer of 1615, to join a war party that intended to attack a large town of the Onondagas in New York. Allowing Father Caron, the Recollect friar, who was eager to evangelize the Hurons, to leave Montreal, accompanied by twelve armed Frenchmen, early in July (for the impatient savages would wait no longer), Champlain himself, his body servants and our friend Brulé, with the usual Indian escort, followed the main party up the Ottawa a few days later.

By the very route Brulé had taken four years earlier, Champlain now reached Georgian Bay and beheld himself the great "fresh water sea." Then pushing on, he joined Father Caron and his party at an inland village and assisted there at the first Mass ever said among the Hurons. Not the last, however, for the mission thus begun in 1615 by Father Caron, but which languished many years, owing to the dearth of means and missionaries, was reëstablished by the Jesuits in 1634, only to be totally destroyed some four years later by the Iroquois, when Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant were martyred.

All the warriors having gathered, they launched canoes and, accompanied by their French allies, paddled down Lakes Simcoe, Sturgeon and Ontario toward the Onondaga nation. The adventurous Brulé, however, was not with his countrymen on this occasion. He had gotten Champlain's leave to join another expedition. The circumstances were these: Near the upper waters of the Susquehanna, just south of the Iroquois, there dwelt a tribe of Indians, the Carantouannais, who were Hurons' friends. Now, the help of these braves would be very useful in the descent upon the Onondagas. So when two canoes of Indians were sent in haste to arouse the friendly tribe, Brulé contrived to be a member of the party. The expedition was a difficult and dangerous one. To reach betimes their destination Brulé's companions had to skirt the country of the hostile Senecas, and to choose a route into New York quite different from the one pursued by Champlain's party. After leaving Lake Simcoe, with a short portage, they gained the Humber, which brought them to the western shore of Lake Ontario. Paddling across, they hid their canoes, probably south of Niagara river, and plunged into the New York wilderness, the native heath of the bloodthirsty Iroquois. Crossing what are now the counties of Erie, Genesee, Wyoming, Livingstone, Steuben, Chemung and Tioga, Brulé and his guides successfully avoided the enemy, save a small band of Senecas, whom they easily took captive, and arrived in due time at Carantouan, the chief town of the Carantouannais, situated very probably close to the Pennsylvania boundary where Waverly now stands.

By this expedition Etienne won more laurels, for though Parkman gives Champlain the honor of discovering Lake Ontario,[3] Brulé unquestionably trod its shores before all other white men, reaching as he did, owing to the shorter route he followed, the head of the great lake some days before Champlain, on his way to Onondaga land, had crossed the eastern end. Brulé was also the first white man to penetrate the pathless woods of West New York. About Niagara Falls, however, we do not hear a word, though it would seem the Indians of the neighborhood would tell a stranger of the mighty cataract.

The prime object, though, of Brulé's journey was not altogether a success. Notwithstanding his endeavors to make the Indians see the high importance of setting out at once if they hoped to be of any help to their allies, the preparations and the pow-wows took so long that when the Carantouannais at last reached the Onondaga town it was to learn that the Hurons had been successfully repulsed and, tired of waiting for the promised aid, had left for home two days

[3] "Pioneers of France in the New World," Chap. xiv., p. 372.

before. So of course there was nothing for the warriors and Brulé to do but return to Carantouan. The march, however, gave our pioneer the title, "First explorer of the Counties Tompkins, Courtland and Cayuga"—if that is fame.

As no guides were to be had that fall to lead Brulé back to the Hurons, he found he would be forced to stay among the Carantouannais till spring. Far from thinking this a hardship, the young scout, we may be sure, liked nothing better. Nor was he the man to pass the winter doing nothing. Mindful of the further purpose Champlain had in sending him into New York, he determined to explore the country to the south. Following, accordingly, the windings of a river "flowing towards Florida," which was unquestionably the north branch of the Susquehanna, down past its union with the west branch at Sunbury, he reached eventually the head of Chesapeake Bay and continued very probably his explorations to the sea. The winter in this region Brulé found quite mild compared with those of Canada, and the savages, some of Algonquin stock and some of Iroquois, who dwelt upon the Susquehanna and the Chesapeake, our expert linguist had no trouble in conversing with, and found them very friendly. Thus was Etienne Brulé the pioneer explorer of that State which William Penn was not to colonize for sixty years. But the Chesapeake, John Smith had visited eighty years before Brulé.

On his journey back to the St. Lawrence in the spring the usual good fortune of the woodsman well nigh deserted him. While crossing a second time with some Indian guides the country of the Senecas a party of fierce Iroquois attacked his little band. Brulé took to his heels, and when he stopped at last he was all alone in a trackless wilderness. After wandering about, weak with hunger, for several days he chanced upon a path which led him towards an Indian village. Some home-returning Senecas, whom he then hailed, brought him to their chief to be examined. In answering his shrewd questions the captive lied right valiantly, protesting that there was not a drop of French blood in his veins. But the incredulous Iroquois, though the chief tried to protect the prisoner, threw themselves upon Brulé, plucked his beard, tore out his nails and scorched his sides with blazing brands. It had been all up now with poor Brulé except for a deliverance as wonderful as unexpected. For while cruelly torturing their prisoner, "one of the savages"—it is Father Sagard,[4] the Recollect friar, who tells the story—"seeing the *Agnus Dei* which he (Brulé) carried hanging around his neck, and wanting to take it from him, Brulé began to shout and yell and told his tormenters that if they took it from him God would

[4] "Histoire du Canada."

punish them, as God did accordingly; for no sooner had they put their hands on it to take it from his neck than the heavens, which had been until now cloudless, grew stormy all at once and sent forth so much lightning, so much thunder and made so much noise that the savages believed themselves to be at their last day and ran into their wigwams, leaving their prisoner alone." The friendly chief, however, soon returned, dressed the captive's wounds and showed him from that time the greatest kindness, so that Etienne on leaving for the Huron country, with guides the Senecas provided, promised to effect a reconciliation between the French and the Iroquois, but that was not to be.

Brulé seems to have stayed with the Hurons during the winter of 1617-18, for it is not till the following summer that we find him with Champlain again at Three Rivers, relating the story of his explorations and adventures. But Etienne had now become so fond of savage life, perhaps, that he no longer felt at home in a French settlement. At any rate, it is quite probable that our pioneer in obedience to the orders of Champlain spent the year 1619 in exploring regions to the north of Georgian Bay, where the Beaver nation had their home, bringing back more definite reports, no doubt, concerning the mysterious "North Sea."

The year 1621, however, is the date of what most will call Brulé's great exploit. For then it was, if we may trust the story of the Recollect Sagard, that Etienne discovered Lake Superior. Ever since Champlain's first visit to the St. Lawrence his imagination fed, as we know, by the romantic tales of Indian traders, kept calling him by way of that great river to China and the East. Stories, too, of copper mines far to the north, which pure ingots of the metal Indians brought him but confirmed, served to whet his eagerness to know that region better. Accordingly Champlain despatched Brulé and a fellow woodsman named Grenoble expressly to discover, as is very probable, this copper mine and to settle once for all the question of the northern ocean's real existence. So on gaining Huron Lake by the French river route, now quite familiar to him, Brulé paddled past Great Manitoulin Island by the North Channel, discovering in that neighborhood, "about eighty or one hundred leagues from the Hurons," "a mine of red copper" which savages were working. Then pushing up the St. Mary's river to its famous rapids, though he was already further west than any European had ever been, we may feel pretty certain, trusting chiefly to Friar Sagard's narrative, that the adventurous explorer paused not here, but went on beyond the falls till his eyes beheld, stretching out before him the broad expanse of Lake Superior. Brulé had found at last the *"Grand Lac"* that had been for many years his master's thoughts

by day and dreams by night. But its waters, alas, were fresh! So puff went Champlain's North Sea bubble, and the airy castles on the Chinese coast the "Northwest Passage" was to make him lord of tumbled to the ground. Mr. Butterfield believes it probable "that the adventurers paddled their canoes along the northern shore of Lake Superior till they came to its head, entering the mouth of the St. Louis river where now stand the cities of Superior and Duluth."

The last important expedition of Brulé's that we have knowledge of was his journey to the country of the Neutrals or Attiwandarons, who dwelt just west of the Niagara river, where no white man yet had set his foot. There the "interpreter Brulé," as Sagard always calls him, passed the winter of the year 1624-25, returning in the spring to the St. Lawrence with glowing accounts of the region, which are confirmed by what Father Daillon tells us about the richness of the soil and the abundance there in those days of game and fish. A change had meanwhile taken place in the directors of the colony. Indeed it were high time something were done, for the entire population of Quebec—men, women and children—numbered in 1627 but one hundred souls, threatened often with starvation and once in peril of being scalped by Iroquois, while the sole concern felt for the colony by its proprietors, the two Huguenots, William and Emery de Caen, was that there should be no falling off in the number of rich furs exported every year. The energetic Richelieu, however, who now held the helm of state in France, observing the precarious condition of the settlement, annulled the Caens' privileges and placed himself at the head of a corporation of one hundred members, Governor Champlain being one, of which the objects were to build up the colony, develop its resources and evangelize the aborigines. Measures to relieve the little garrison which held the fortress of Quebec were at once taken by sending out in 1628 a large fleet loaded with supplies and colonists.

But unfortunately as a result of the religious troubles of the time France and England were just then at war, and Kirke, the Huguenot admiral, arrived at the mouth of the St. Lawrence with a British fleet in time to intercept and sink the Cardinal's ships. Champlain, though summoned by Kirke's messengers to surrender the fortress, promptly refused and, strange to say, the admiral retired that year without attempting to take Quebec, but returned the next with a squadron, found a pilot to guide up three warships to the fortress and thus compelled Champlain to yield. But who was that useful pilot? Etienne Brulé! So Stephen was a traitor then? The admission must be made. Treason always has an ugly look, and the French never forgot what Brulé had done; but in point of fact, with the defenders of Quebec reduced to only sixteen men and with provisions

so scarce that to keep from starving men, women and children had to grub up roots in the woods, the English when they came were looked upon as opportune deliverers.

When Canada by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, in 1632, was restored to France, Brulé, who in the interim had been employed by the English as Indian interpreter, seems to have found it convenient to retire to the land of the Hurons to live, and from this time became, as Shea expresses it, "a thorough Indian." Therefore it is not improbable that Etienne, together with their mode of life, acquired the Indians' vicious habits and even practiced some of their unholy superstitions. Father Sagard had occasion certainly to rebuke Brulé for showing honor to an idol, and it is too well known how lax the morals of Christians often grow in a new country and among uncivilized people. So some readers of Champlain may be more inclined than is Mr. Butterfield to believe, as the editors of the "Jesuit Relations"[5] are apparently, that the charges of licentiousness made against Brulé in the 1632 volume of Champlain's works, were penned by that great discoverer's own hand.

The end of Etienne Brulé was tragic. While living in the Huron village of Toanché, the site of which is now unknown, the explorer was brutally clubbed to death by his savage hosts and his body actually eaten. Father Brébeuf two years later found, as he believed, "the place where poor Etienne Brulé had been barbarously and treacherously murdered." The reason why the Indians killed the Frenchman who had lived so long among them and who had always trusted them so unreservedly we shall never know.

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SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

FOR twenty years or more French Radicals have placed a separation of Church and State (involving a denunciation of the Concordat) at the head of their political programme. In the attempt made in January, 1902, to suppress the French Embassy at the Vatican M. Dubief echoed Radical sentiment in declaring that this suppression was "one of the fundamental articles of the Republican programme." "We are," he added, "no more the France of St. Louis and the Crusades, but the France of the Revolution, of free thought and of human right." But Radicals and Socialists, so brave in warring upon women and children, upon aged priests,

[5] Vol. V., note 58.

decrepit monks and teaching friars, have found it necessary to proceed by easy stages through uncertainty of the effect upon the popular mind of a separation not called for by that more or less ignorant mass of ten million voters representing universal suffrage in France.

In October, 1902, M. Ernest Roche, an independent Radical-Socialist, presented to the Chamber of Deputies a project of law establishing a separation of Church and State. As Combes and his followers were still immersed in war on the congregations and religious education, M. Roche's plan for immediately forcing the issue of separation was regarded as premature, but a parliamentary committee of thirty-three members was appointed and charged with the study of this and all other measures that might be proposed for the separation, which so many Radicals and Socialists ardently desired in the abstract.

The diplomatic controversy over the question of the "Nobis nominavit" had a contributive share in the rupture of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican, chiefly through the bad faith and unstatesmanlike (I might almost say brutal) attitude and methods of M. Combes. This whole subject of naming the Bishops has been authoritatively treated, from the side of the Vatican, in the so-called "White Book," last issued as part of the exposition and documents comprised in "La Separation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat en France."* Influenced by the internal and external relations of the government with the Church and by the anti-clerical composition of the commission itself, the commission on a separation of Church and State adopted, on June 16, 1903, a resolution declaring that there was ground for a denunciation of the Concordat and for proceeding to a separation of the churches from the State. This resolution was only carried by a majority of one vote, the commission standing seventeen to sixteen on an immediate decision in this sense. This was during the Pontificate of Leo XIII., whose policy of "rallying" all French Bishops and priests (and the lay body as well) to the support of the Republic was reciprocated and responded to by every anti-religious measure which a European republic could invent. This fact is most important to notice, since it shows the brazen untruthfulness of subsequent attempts of the French Government to throw upon Pope Pius X. the responsibility for a measure which Radicals had clamored for during upwards of thirty years, and which Socialists were urging public meetings of voters to force upon a hesitating government, unwilling to bear the odium of its own unilateral repudiation of a bilateral contract.

In the first period of his premiership M. Combes was not prepared either to denounce the Concordat or to separate the churches

* Rome, "Typographie Vatîcane," 1905.

from the State, simply because he found public opinion not yet ripe for either measure. Later he thought he saw in adopting this course a means of prolonging his official existence, a matter of considerable importance to a country doctor like himself without large private resources. Having slaughtered nearly all religious congregations or prepared their ultimate extinction, Combes appeared to seek to find further occupation for himself and to fortify his position by attacking the Church itself, whose secular clergy he had so recently praised and sought to protect from unfair and "unjust concurrence or competition with the regulars!" Like Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes saw here an opportunity to "save" the Republic from *"clerical reaction."* Throughout its whole discreditable history this third Republic of France has only been kept alive by being periodically "saved" by some clever politician from *"perils"* conjured up to terrorize the peasantry, who still recall the misery of their ancestors in the old *régime* and the misfortunes of France in the downfall of the first and second Empires. Thus Waldeck-Rousseau conjured up the "financial and clerical peril" of religious congregations in order to drive from France the Society of Jesus, the Augustinians of the Assumption and to hold the other congregations at his mercy. So Combes, in his turn, posed as "savior of the Republic" from the evil machinations of the "clerical reaction," as chiefly personified by the Church, in communion with her Supreme Head and subject to his authority. The Pope protested, in March, 1904, against the bad faith and infamous aggressions of the French Government in the matter of religious education and those imparting it, and M. Delcassé, through the French Ambassador at the Vatican, protested against the Papal protest. In the following month M. Loubet, as President of the French Republic, visited the King of Italy at Rome, at the same time politely, but significantly, ignoring the existence of the Pope and the Vatican, at which court France then had accredited an Ambassador! Then followed the protest of the Vatican, addressed directly to the French Government, and the protest simultaneously sent to all the powers where Papal Nuncios are in residence. The form of this general protest was published in France by the Socialist paper *L'Humanité*, and it was found to contain a clause omitted, through courtesy, from the text of protest addressed to France. This latter was based upon the uniform Papal tradition that has obtained since September 20, 1870, and which refuses to countenance a visit of any chief of state of a nation styled Catholic when made officially at Rome to the King of United Italy and in the former Papal palace of the Quirinal. French pride (not to say arrogance) was wounded by the clause, omitted from the protest sent to France, but appearing in the general protest to other powers.

This clause read: "If, in spite of all that, the Papal Nuncio has remained at Paris, it is only due to very grave motives of a nature special in every way." The French Government knew perfectly that the Holy See had protested to protect rights that silence would, perhaps, compromise and to prevent the visit of M. Loubet from being regarded as a precedent that could be followed at pleasure by the rulers of other Catholic nations. But people who seek to pick a quarrel and who desire no explanations that, from their kindly nature, would have to be accepted, generally embroil themselves with those (however well disposed) whom they would describe as aggressors and point to as their enemies. Hence it was not surprising to the diplomatic world to have the French Ambassador recalled from the Vatican "on furlough," although the Ambassador himself declared to the Holy See that "This furlough did not signify either rupture or interruption or suspension of diplomatic relations." In June, 1904, when before the budgetary commission of the Chamber Combes was asked by a Socialist to explain the real significance of the "actual state of affairs" or the existing relations of France and the Vatican and if the Holy See had been officially notified of the recall of the Ambassador; to this he replied: "I do not know if the recall has been announced, but I am able to say that it is effective *and that the Ambassador will not return to Rome.*" This statement was published in Italian papers, and such unofficial declarations created astonishment until it transpired that the Combes Ministry was not unanimous in its decision upon this point.

In March, 1904, had arisen the trouble in the Diocese of Dijon, France, which culminated in students of the diocesan seminary refusing to receive ordination from the hands of the Bishop, Mgr. Le Nordez. The Bishop of Dijon was, unfortunately, not the only one of the French episcopate claiming to be a "victim of hatred, deceit and calumny." Almost from the commencement of his episcopate Mgr. Geay, Bishop of Laval, was attacked by accusations filed at Rome, charges which were examined into during the Pontificate of Leo XIII., and which led the Holy Office to advise the Bishop to resign his see. It was then (in 1900) thought at Rome that in the local conditions actually then existing it was impossible for Mgr. Geay to govern the diocese with the necessary authority and efficacy. Mgr. Geay agreed to resign, provided he received another bishopric in France. This condition appeared inacceptable to the Vatican, but no further action was taken in this case until May 17, 1904, when by order of Pius X. the request for the Bishop's resignation was renewed, and in case it was not forthcoming within a specified time an ecclesiastical trial was intimated as inevitable. Notwithstanding the secret and private character of this last letter emanating

from the Holy Office, Mgr. Geay communicated its contents to the French Government. Combes and Delcassé, jealous of the prerogatives of the French State and presumably caring little for the honor of the French episcopate, notified Cardinal Merry del Val (by the acting Chargé d'Affaires) "that if the letter of May 17 is not annulled the government will be led to take the measures that a like derogation of the compact which binds France and the Holy See admits of." The Papal Nuncio at Paris explained to M. Delcassé that this was *not* a threat of *deposition* of the Bishop *without a decision of the French Government,* but an invitation to the Bishop to meet the charges by a voluntary resignation, which could be explained by honorable and plausible reasons, avoiding unpleasant rumors possibly arising from a canonical process in the delicate matters involved. While professing to cherish a "sweet hope" of prostrating himself soon at the feet of His Holiness, Mgr. Geay was strangely slow in realizing this desire, sprung, as he explained, from "the impatience of my heart." So slow, in fact, that on July 2, 1904, Mgr. Geay was directed to betake himself to Rome within the fifteen days following the date of this order emanating from the Holy Office and approved by the Pope. The Bishop of Laval referred this last summons to the French Government, at the same time asking authority from the Ministry of Public Worship to go to Rome. This permission was refused. Mgr. Geay also stated by letter what he had done, and suggested that if His Eminence (Merry del Val) had "some objections to make upon this subject" he "would do well to address them to the French Government." He, of course, conveyed to His Eminence his "regrets and humble homage." The Bishop of Laval was given from the 10th to the 20th of July to fulfill the obligation of obedience by going to Rome. More or less of the correspondence between the Vatican and the French Government got into print, marred by many inaccuracies and notable gaps, and newspaper agitation did not serve to throw oil upon the troubled waters.

On July 23, 1904, the government notified the Vatican that it considered null and void the letter of March 11, 1904, by which the Papal Nuncio at Paris conveyed to the Bishop of Dijon (Mgr. Le Nordez) an order of the Pope to postpone ordinations declared null because the Nuncio had not previously obtained the assent of the French Government! The government also demanded the withdrawal by the Vatican of the letter of July 9, 1904, enjoining Mgr. Le Nordez to repair to Rome. It was asserted that in summoning to Rome a Bishop of France without the official knowledge of the government the Holy See had misconstrued the rights of the power with whom it had signed the Concordat, a Bishop in his quality of diocesan administrator depending upon the Minister of Public Worship.

Letters of the Vatican of the 2d and 10th of July addressed to Mgr. Geay, Bishop of Laval, were likewise regarded as misconstruing the stipulations of the Concordat, since (according to M. Delcassé) a Bishop cannot be suspended or deposed without an agreement of the two authorities which have contributed to create him. The Vatican was notified that if these letters were not withdrawn, and should an outcome be given to the menaces therein expressed, the Government of France would understand that the Holy See no longer had any solicitude for the obligations of the Concordat, and that it would become the duty of the French Government to defend the prerogatives conferred upon it by the Concordat. With an unwearied patience that no purely civil government would have condescended to exercise, the Papal Secretary of State demonstrated that no step of the procedure so far followed had been, on the part of the Vatican, a violation of the Concordat. But it was made equally clear that "a withdrawal of these letters would be, in fact, equivalent to a complete abdication of the Pontifical authority upon the episcopate, an abdication which is not in the power of the Holy Father, and which cannot be in the intentions of the government of the Republic." Moreover, in a conciliatory spirit the Pope intimated his willingness to prolong for a month the delay accorded to the Bishop of Laval, provided in this time he would go to Rome, or if, in the event of his failure to appear or to clear himself of the charges against him, the government would show itself disposed to come to an understanding with the Holy See with a view to providing for the administration of the diocese. But an amicable understanding seemed to be the last thing sought for or desired by M. Combes. He had within his grasp a semblance of excuse for that complete rupture of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, that suppression of the Embassy for which his more violent followers had fiercely clamored. By concealing part of the diplomatic correspondence it could be made to appear, for a time at least, as if the Pope had made this step inevitable. A council of the Ministerial Cabinet was called in hot haste, and its outcome was a verbal note conveyed to Cardinal Merry del Val on July 30, 1904, by the Chargé d'Affaires of France and reading:

"After having repeatedly signaled the grave attacks that the initiative of the Holy See, exercising itself directly with the French Bishops, bears to the concordatary rights of the State, the government of the Republic has . . . warned the Holy See of the conclusion that it would be led to draw from the persistent misinterpretation of its rights. Obliged to establish . . . that the Holy See maintains the acts accomplished without the knowledge of the power with which it has signed the Concordat, the govern-

ment of the Republic has decided to put an end to official relations which, by the will of the Holy See (*sic*), find themselves to be without object."

Thus was the ground cleared for a denunciation of the Concordat and a separation of the churches from the State. As regards Mgr. Le Nordez and Mgr. Geay, respectively Bishops of Dijon and Laval, their long hesitation between the wishes of the French Government and the will of the Holy See ended by the departure of both of them for Rome. The government then promptly suppressed their salaries and after they had (under virtual pressure) placed their "voluntary resignation" in the hands of the Holy Father, an allowance from the funds of the Vatican was made to each of them. They have since lived in France in a retirement, varied at first by interviews of Mgr. Geay with reporters that have since happily ceased. The severance of diplomatic relations with the Vatican was completed by a note from M. Delcassé to the Papal Nuncio at Paris stating that in consequence of the rupture of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican "the mission of the Nuncio would be henceforth deprived of scope." In the parliamentary session of November 26, 1904, the credit for the Embassy at the Vatican was stricken from the budget.

It is impossible within the limits of one article to follow the work of the commission on a separation of Church and State or to describe the various parliamentary measures successively proposed to attain a separation. After the downfall of Combes, through the odium attaching to his spy system, the Minister of the Interior and of Public Worship presented to the Chamber of Deputies on behalf of the Rouvier Ministry a project of law to establish the separation. If for Combes separation had signified little else than spoliation, aggravated by oppression, the Rouvier plan sought to render spoliation less unjust, less intolerant. The ministerial project having been somewhat altered by the commission, conferences were held and a final agreement having been obtained, the proposed law was reported to the Chamber of Deputies in March, 1905. It is unnecessary to follow the parliamentary evolution of this immature project, forced as a principle to an issue by two successive Premiers who had far less solicitude for the permanent interests of their country than to assure their own continuance in power. M. Briand, speaking for the commission, took great trouble to throw upon the Pope the responsibility of a law which he at the same time declared to be perfectly good, beneficent for the Republic and honorable for its authors! Alas! for separatists, in an unguarded moment Combes betrayed the utter falsity and ridiculous insincerity of this pompous and solemn pretence of the anti-religious majority, that the Pope forced the separation upon France. In the parliamentary session of January

14, 1905, Combes declared: "When I assumed power I judged that public opinion was insufficiently prepared for this reform. I have judged it to be necessary to lead it to that."

When the law of separation, as finally adopted in the Chamber of Deputies, was referred to the Senate the Senatorial commission, under ministerial pressure, adopted the law as passed in the Chamber, without change of a single word. Although the law was the most important of any passed in France for a hundred years, and though it is fraught with grave influences upon the destines of the country, this hastily matured, ill-framed measure, with all its unjust and vexatious provisions, was swallowed whole by a commission of cowardly, truckling Senatorial politicians, who disregarded their plain duty at the dictation of Radicals and Socialists on the outside. Separationists both in and out of Parliament were eager to see the law become operative before the universal suffrage of France could have an opportunity of passing judgment upon the principle of the separation in the parliamentary elections of May, 1906. The perfunctory semblance of discussion in the Senate when the bill was referred back from committee was a real abdication of all the constitutional powers and prerogatives of this legislative body, which never before reached as low a level of thought and action. Over one hundred amendments, designed to correct the injustices and illegalities of the law adopted by the Chamber, were put forward and ably sustained by a small but noble minority, but all in vain. The bill of the Chamber was adopted in its entirety by the Senate. With cynical frankness Senator Combes (no longer Premier) intimated that this might be but a beginning of more tyrannical measures yet to come. Such at least is a fair interpretation of his somewhat ambiguous phrases.

In the Papal Consistory of December 11, 1905, the Pope pronounced an allocution protesting against the law of separation in mild and temperate language, announcing his intention of again treating upon the same subject "more solemnly and more deliberately at an opportune time." The Holy Father evidently waited for the regulations of public administration that would indicate in what manner the Government of France intended to administer and enforce the law. It is one thing to adopt a law in France and quite another to carry it out in the spirit intended by its authors and to which the Ministry of the hour might pledge the government. The world had seen the adoption of the Concordat and its subsequent misuse and distortion by Napoleon, through his infamous "organic articles," added to it by Bonaparte, and though never accepted by the Holy See, yet used by various Governments of France as an instrument of tyranny and oppression. Recently have we witnessed the shame-

less repudiation by Combes of every solemn and public pledge by which Waldeck-Rousseau obtained the passage of his law on associations.

Immediately after the adoption of the law of separation the government appointed a special commission to elaborate rules of public administration by which the law was to be interpreted and applied. This commission being stuffed with the anti-religious element, its work was worthy of its authors. Fortunately regulations framed by the commission were submitted for revision to the Council of State, and great pressure was brought to bear upon the latter body to secure their modification in a liberal sense, or at least that the obnoxious features of the law be not aggravated in its operation. The first details of the regulations officially promulgated governed the taking of inventories of all movable and real property of churches, chapels and ecclesiastical buildings, including rectories, chapter houses, homes of retreat for aged and infirm priests (even pension endowments), etc., ostensibly to facilitate the transfer of these properties to such associations for the maintenance of public worship as might be formed under the provisions of the law of separation. These inventories were imposed upon all religious bodies—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—and the law was made applicable to Algiers, where there is a large Mahomedan population. Viewed in the abstract, the taking of inventories was a formality necessary to an application of principles inscribed in the law. As estimates of value such inventories are worthless, because compiled by agents of the administration of Public Domains or treasury agents, unaided by experts in art, architecture and archivial paleography. The Director General of the Register prescribed to agents taking these inventories a request *for the opening of tabernacles* in churches and chapels to facilitate completeness and accuracy. This order aroused a storm of indignation throughout France and the government realized that a stupid blunder had been made, and it was announced that agents would content themselves with gathering and incorporating into their report declarations of the priests upon the nature and value of sacred vessels contained in the tabernacles.

The taking of inventories of churches and their contents commenced simultaneously in many parts of France in the latter part of January, 1906. Instead of the simple formality hastily accomplished without general observation, of which separatists had dreamed, this proceeding was characterized in various places by scenes of the wildest disorder. When officials of the Registry presented themselves for the taking of the inventories the clergy, surrounded or attended by trustees of the building, read formal protests against what most of them styled "the first step in an act of

spoliation." It was held by Bishops and priests that the goods of the Church did not belong to the State because they are the product of oblations of the faithful or were built for their use. In almost every case the clergy were instructed to assist only as passive spectators, lending no active coöperation of any sort. The position in the matter of a vast majority of the hierarchy and clergy of France was voiced by the Bishop of Nancy when he stigmatized the inventory as "The first execution of the law entitled 'Law of separation of the Church and State,' and which is in reality for Catholics a law of spoliation and of servitude." As confirmation of this view the Bishop rightly stated that "the most influential men and the all-powerful Freemasonry announce other laws and other decrees still more rigorous." If these protests had not been accompanied by physical violence, the country might have been spared the shocking scenes that took place in Paris and the provinces. In many churches free fights took place between militant Catholic laymen, opposed to an inventory, and police, firemen and troops, who burst open the doors of churches or broke them down with fire axes in order to make an inventory possible. While at the doors chairs and fragments of broken confessionals were flying through the air, pious women within sang: "We will God that the Church may be able to teach the truth, to combat error which causes division, *to preach to all charity!*"

At the Paris Church of St. Pierre du Gros Caillou firemen were ordered to break down the doors with fire hatchets and axes and to turn the hose on a fashionable congregation massed within. Men of the congregation had barricaded the doors with chairs and broken confessionals. After the bloody fight which ensued and the inundation of the church interior (and the congregation in it), one of the priests gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament to such of the flock as remained to receive it! There being less in the provinces to vary the monotony of life, some of the worst scenes took place in much smaller communities. Four charges of cavalry were thought necessary by the government to effect an inventory in the provincial Church of St. Leonard. Conflicting statements have been made in private, in the newspapers and before magistrates in trials of demonstrators that followed these events (for there were many arrests) as to who were the first aggressors. Indeed, there have been flat contradictions as to the reality of the deeds charged. Persons of the highest social standing have denied on honor accusations made against them, but seemingly in almost every case the word of some police rowdy, drunk with excitement, was preferred to theirs and sentences given have been simply infamous. A boy of eighteen, son of a former sub-prefect, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for tearing from the coat of a police rough a decoration he had

disgraced by striking one priest and several women. Members of the aristocracy present in the Paris Church of St. Clotilde declare that the scene there has been paralleled only during the reign of terror. The Marquis Costa de Beauregard, member of the French Academy, says that the events in St. Clotilde seemed to him like a repetition of the Commune of 1871. "I shall never forget," he added, "the siege of the Church of St. Clotilde, the turning movement by the rue Martignac, the Guarde Republicaine hustling people from the church, using the butts of their rifles, striking, dragging and trampling on women, the firemen rushing about with hatchets and ropes as if they were besieging a fortified place, chairs flying in the air, shouting and the sound of blows."

The brutal methods of the Parisian police have also been described by the Marquis d'Aubigny, a retired lieutenant colonel of the French army. He declares that he saw the Chief of Police (Lepine) enter the Church of St. Pierre du Gros Caillou, surrounded by patrolmen, who carried pieces of broken chairs with which they struck Catholic manifestants, the Prefect of Police making no effort to calm them. "I turned towards these police agents," says the Marquis, "to urge them not thus to beat the manifestants. One of the agents raised upon me the piece of a chair that he held in his hand. I parried the blow with my umbrella that was brutally wrenched from me, leaving only the handle in my hands. Struck in the face, I staggered a little, and then, thrown to the ground, I was beaten by the agents. I rose up. The police wished to arrest me, but I succeeded in taking flight during the scuffle." Such are the heroic police of Paris, some of whom during the recent labor troubles have been seen to fight with their heels!

In the trials of manifestants magistrates showed how well they knew the surest way to official preferment. Long terms of imprisonment were inflicted upon all condemned for active opposition to the taking of inventories. Persons of the highest social rank when sentenced were subjected to the *régime* of common criminals, being photographed and measured by the Bertillon system. Moreover, condemnations followed evidence that would not in any State of the American Union serve to convict a Negro boy of robbing a hen roost. But Premier Rouvier required victims upon whom to wreak his vengeance, believing that then organized opposition to the inventories would cease. Throughout France under the Rouvier Ministry police, military and firemen "enforced the law" and sought to "make it respected" by breaking down the doors of churches with axes and otherwise putting them to sacrilegious desecration if not to sack. And the only necessity for taking the inventory at this time, or in any haste, was the wretched party necessity of trying to hoodwink

the people by hurrying through a formality it had been hoped would pass unnoticed, so that all might quiet down before the parliamentary elections of May, 1906. Forcible resistance spoiled this little game. Except in rare instances the clergy did not inspire the unseemly and bloody encounters that vigorous opposition involved. Rather was it a spontaneous movement or uprising of a long outraged lay population. Of course, the Premier and others who feared the political effect of these disorders charged Catholics with resistance to the inventories for purely political ends. Certainly Royalist and Nationalist politicians had in some instances associated themselves to these movements of resistance, but their association did not lessen or obscure their real significance. In many parishes inventories were made without opposition beyond a formal protest from the rector to reserve all property rights that might be asserted in the future.

The position of militant Catholics was well defined by a poster affixed to the walls of Paris by an association of Catholic youth. That poster read:

"We are asked why we protest. Because our backs are overburdened! For too long a time Catholics have been treated as pariahs in their own country. They have closed our schools. They have chased our Sisters from the hospitals. They have molested our priests. They have lied to us in promising to accord authorization to congregations who would ask it. They have torn away the crucifix from our court rooms. Freemasons spy and report upon all officials who go to Mass or simply allow their wives to go. There has been created against us a new ministry, the ministry of the reports of secret spies. Now they touch our churches. This is too much! We are told: 'This is but an inventory!' We know well that this is the first act of confiscation. They speak to us of legality. Who violates it, if it be not they who pretend to apply a law when the regulation that it prescribes is not yet completed? They tell us: 'The law is liberal.' We no longer have faith in official falsehoods. Do not Freemasons boast that very soon they will get possession of our disaffected churches? Catholics will not suffer their churches to be profaned. Let them say that to themselves!"

Yet the anti-religious rage of the Radical and Socialistic "Block," the so-called "Republican majority," was not satisfied, and the Rouvier Ministry was overthrown by a strange combination of its friends and enemies, again proving that in French parliamentary life there is little good faith or loyalty even among rogues. Such high conceptions of "enforcing the law" and "making the law respected" should have obtained for the Rouvier Ministry a longer lease of life, but their more violent supporters had become so accustomed to the brutalities of M. Combes that nothing less cruel would satisfy their

jaded appetites while disgusting decent Deputies of the Republican Centre and extreme Right. M. Sarrien was charged with the formation of a Ministry, whose most powerful personality was M. Clemenceau. Powerful he had been for thirty years as a sharp critic and conspiring antagonist of many Cabinets, but his strength has been discovered to have lain in his vigorous and picturesque rhetoric, and he has presented a pitiable figure in the labor troubles of the early spring of 1906. He has at first shown better judgment in the matter of the inventories than his predecessor, deciding that "counting the candlesticks in a church was not worth the loss of a human life." One man had, indeed, been killed in one of these struggles occasioned by the policy of forcible resistance. M. Clemenceau has declared, however, that no transfer of ecclesiastical goods would be made to any association for the maintenance of public worship that might be formed to receive them until the inventories had been completed in the churches concerned. Clemenceau has not, on the other hand, found out nor have the Sarrien-Clemenceau Ministry prevented shameful abuses of power that have marked some repressions of manifestations hostile to the inventories. Under the despotic system that prevails in France persons who are considered about to violate the law or are suspected of an intention of doing so can be held in prison preventively, with no criminal charge for offense committed pending against them. In this way manifestants who had incurred a fine of three dollars and twenty cents have been imprisoned for a month "preventively." Cases on appeal have during the Rouvier Ministry and since been confirmed and the penalty increased to a sum out of all proportion to the offense. A nobleman was fined ten dollars for shouting "Down with the saucepans!" at gendarmes gathered before a church. Appeal being taken to a higher court, a complaisant magistrate increased the fine to forty dollars. For shouting "Down with Loubet!" after that worthy had retired from the Presidency, a young man was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, execution of the sentence, however, being suspended under the first offenders' act. It is presumably to the credit of M. Clemenceau that manifestants sentenced for opposition to the taking of inventories have been now placed under the prison *régime* allowed to political offenders and are no longer treated as common criminals. This great reform was only instituted about the middle of March, and during many weeks before priests and lay persons of both sexes, some of the highest social standing, escaped the lot of criminals of the common law, if at all, only through the personal courtesy of their gaolers and not by administrative regulation.

Under the Sarrien Ministry has appeared the last installment of the regulations of public administration to govern the application of

the law of separation of the churches from the State. The provisions for taking the inventories had been detached from the general regulations and promulgated separately, and all Catholics had been expected meekly to asquiesce in this first stage of a law which was known to have been made intolerable in its further application, as prepared by the commission on the regulation of its public administration. Later, of course, these objectionable (rather, intolerable) features were modified by the Council of State. Yet when there was no assurance of such modification the government had the assurance to expect the Pope to counsel submission to the inventories, and there is reason to believe that Cardinal Mathieu, the French Cardinal of the Roman Curia, approached His Holiness with either a request or intimation of this kind. It should be borne in mind that under the French legal system after a law has been passed, even in a spirit of fairness and equity, it lies within the power of the Ministry in office, if aided and abetted by the sometimes pliant Council of State, to distort and pervert such law in its actual application by these so-called "regulations of public administration."

The final promulgation of regulations governing the application of the law of separation, although deliberately delayed for months after the passage of the law, at last made it possible to analyze the *régime* that a separation of the churches from the State would establish. Space does not permit a complete reproduction of the law. The first chapter opens with a characteristic declaration of "principles," every one of which is violated either in letter or spirit by provisions of succeeding chapters. Limitations of revenue and interference by the State with financial affairs, and even the management of temporalities of churches of all denominations, foretell the disappearance of many rural parishes throughout France. Until 1881 churches of all denominations were authorized to receive gifts and legacies in favor of the poor. Some, indeed, have been proprietors or dispensers of government annuities whose arrearages have been distributed to the indigent. Donors of charitable funds, both Catholic and Protestant, have been dominated by the pious thought that their bequests would be distributed by hands consecrated to prayer and good works, and this law of separation requires that such foundations be given over to "public services or establishments or those of public utility whose destination is conformed to that of the aforesaid goods;" that is to say, in almost every instance to public lay establishments notoriously irreligious and sometimes actively anti-religious. At the time of such transfer heirs of the testator, seeing this misappropriation so foreign to the thought and desire of the deceased, can appeal to the courts for a declaration of a lapse of the legacy through nonfulfillment of the conditions of bequest. Benefactors still living can

follow the same course, but in any case the poor will suffer and a charitable will be violated.

In providing for the formation of lay associations to take over the use and management of church properties not only are these associations wholly foreign to the genius and constitution of the Catholic Church, but injustice is done to all churches by confiding to the Council of State, a lay body largely Protestant, the task of deciding upon the respective claims of rival associations that might dispute with each other claims for control within one ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In default of any lay association to take over the use, care and management of church properties, these properties "will be assigned by decree to communal establishments of assistance or beneficence situated within the territorial limits of the ecclesiastical circumscription interested." In a word, if any church (denomination) refuses to coöperate in the formation of lay associations thus arbitrarily forced upon it, or if, for any cause, lay associations are lacking, churches and chapels may be seized and sold, turned over to Freethinkers or transformed into public and low dance halls, as was done in Paris during the Reign of Terror. Already Freethinkers announce from the housetops that they will eventually get possession of Catholic churches.

The executive committee of the Lutheran Synod has pointed out the violation of the rules of common law and equity by article eleven of the law in not according to pastors upon whom the State itself had conferred irremovability indemnities proportionate to the injury caused them by a suppression of their salaries. The article quoted provides that: "Ministers of religion who at the time of the promulgation of the present law will be aged more than sixty years and who will have during thirty years at least fulfilled ecclesiastical functions remunerated by the State, shall receive an annual pension and life annuity equal to three-fourths of their salary. Those who will be aged more than forty-five years and who will have during at least twenty years fulfilled ecclesiastical functions remunerated by the State, shall receive an annual pension and life annuity equal to half of their salary. The pensions allowed by the two preceding paragraphs *shall not surpass fifteen hundred francs* ($300!)." In the case of Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis who have married and have reared families in faith of the honor of a Godless and apostate State, great financial distress or anxiety is inevitable. Moreover, the ink was scarcely dry on the regulations of public administration, if, indeed, they had yet been all promulgated, before the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship (M. Briand) was planning to suppress even this beggarly pittance in certain cases, as appears from a notice that was allowed publication, presumably as a

warning to all priests showing an independence that might be judged offensive by the present arbiters of such rights and liberties as they will condescend to grant to the Church and religion. M. Briand made known, in fact, that he had "addressed to the Prefects a circular urgently enjoining upon them to indicate to him ecclesiastics who, having formed requests for pensions or allowances, *would have had at the time of the inventories a criticizable attitude.*" The same M. Briand decided that in calculating the amount of the pension the last salary paid by the State was held to be the basis of the estimate, without including indemnities possibly received by a priest serving as chaplain, allowances accorded for serving vacant parishes or supplementary credits allowed by departments or communes. Vexatious restrictions are placed upon the financial resources of churches of every denomination, restrictions and limitations outrageous under a *régime* of so-called separation. The amount of reserve which church associations are allowed to accumulate is never to surpass "a sum equal, for unions and associations having more than five thousand francs ($1,000) of revenue, to three times, and for other associations, to six times the annual average of the sums expended by each of them for the expenses of worship during the five last exercises." *Gifts and legacies are prohibited.* The hardships inflicted upon the clergy of all denominations are increased by the unjust limitations upon the gratuitous lease of episcopal residences, presbyteries and their dependencies, the great seminaries and faculties of Protestant theology. Episcopal residences are left to the gratuitous use of associations for public worship (for the Bishop's occupancy) for but two years; presbyteries, in communes where there is a resident clergy, the great seminaries and the faculties of Protestant theology during only five years from the promulgation of the law. More unjust still is the provision requiring church associations allowed the temporary use (not ownership) of ecclesiastical buildings to make all necessary current repairs and to pay insurance premiums! Indemnities for house rent, heretofore incumbent upon communes that lacked presbyteries, will remain to the charge of said communes during five years, but will cease in case of the dissolution of the association for public worship. Yet certain officials have suppressed these appropriations, their illegal action being rescinded by the Minister of the Interior when brought to his knowledge. This obligation of an indemnity for house rent in cases where a presbytery is lacking was not extended to the city of Paris, although the fact was brought to the attention of the government in time for correction by the Senate.

But the frantic haste of the government and its parliamentary majority to repudiate the Concordat and force the separation upon

the country before it could be fully comprehended, prior to the general elections in May, 1906, prevented all amendment of vicious features, unjust alike to all Christian bodies. In framing the regulations the government wished that every minister of religion who was at the time of separation (January 1, 1906) fulfilling any religious function whatever, even not remunerated by the State, but resulting from the general concordatary organization, should benefit by a pension if he was in the conditions anticipated by article eleven of the law as regards age and term of service. Thus were embraced within the provisions of the law canons of cathedrals or collegiate churches, seminary professors, priests heretofore remunerated by public establishments, such as vicars of fabrics or chaplains, but no provision has been made in the regulations for ecclesiastics who by reason of ill-health no longer exercise any regular ministry. Provision is also made in the law for ministers of religion actually salaried by the State at the date when operative, but whose age or term of service has not attained the length of time already specified by article eleven. Those in this category will receive during four years from the suppression of the budget of public worship an allowance equal for the first year to the whole of their salary, to two-thirds for the second year, to one-half for the third year and to one-third for the fourth. This allowance is doubled in the case of those who shall continue for eight consecutive years to exercise their holy office in communes of less than one thousand inhabitants. But any priest or minister transferred to another field of labor at once loses this allowance or pension. It is supposed that in the inscrutable workings of the governmental mind the thought predominated to secure the permanence of public worship in small and uninviting parts of the Lord's vineyard, but permanence of residence of any one priest should have been a mere detail and continuance of public worship specified as the one essential condition.

Certificate of residence is to be given to the priest by the lay association for public worship, thus placing Catholic ecclesiastics in relations towards the laity that should depend only upon the Bishop. This extension of time to eight years, to which I have alluded, is most unjust towards the Jews, since there is not a single Jewish synagogue in communes of less than one thousand inhabitants, yet rabbis laboring in communities most destitute of resources will receive an allowance during four years only. In providing pensions for professors in Protestant seminaries the Chamber forgot the existence of the Jewish seminary, carelessly excluded from the benefits of the law.

The most vicious feature of the law is the principle enunciated in article twelve, which declares that: "The edifices which have been

put at the disposition of the nation and which, in virtue of the law of the eighteenth Germinal year X. (of the Convention), serve for the public exercise of worship or for the housing of ministers of religion (cathedrals, churches, chapels, temples, synagogues, archiepiscopal or episcopal houses, presbyteries, seminaries), as well as their dependent realties and the movable objects which furnished them at the moment where the said edifices have been remitted to public worship, *are and remain properties of the State,* of the *departments and of the communes.*" One might well ask by whom and for what purpose have these religious edifices been constructed? What thought has inspired their founders, the artisans, architects and artists who erected and decorated them? To what end were they dedicated in the past, for the present and the future? M. Gide has aptly said: "These monuments, above all, those of the Catholic worship, have been adapted in an admirable way and by centuries of piety and of mystic art to one only destination, which is adoration and worship, and like all instruments and objects very well made, they cannot serve but for their ends."

By this law the beautiful churches of France are classed as departmental or communal property, by the same title as any old ruin or communal pasturage. Nor do crime and injustice stop here. The law of separation traces out no rule relative to the proprietorship of edifices constructed since the law of the eighteenth Germinal year X. In the absence of acts of acquisition the owner of the land will be presumed to be proprietor of the church or of the presbytery without necessity of taking account of the subsidies furnished by the State or by the commune. By application of this rule realties constructed upon ground acquired by a Protestant Consistory will, perhaps, remain the property of this establishment, but in the case of the Catholic Church, the practical results will be contrary to right and justice, since it will cause to pass under the domain of the commune a number of edifices which have been constructed at the expense of the faithful. M. Armand Lods, an able and fair-minded French Protestant, has pointed out that since many years the Council of State has laid down the principle that to obtain authorization to construct a church, the trustees must make gratuitous relinquishment of the ground to the commune. This, then, will become, by application of article 553 of the Civil Code, proprietor of the edifice itself at the time when it will not have contributed from its revenues either to the purchase of the land or to the expenses of construction!

The great problem confronting Catholics since the passage of the law has been the question of the associations for public worship with a predominance of lay members. The question has been raised:

"Are they compatible with canonical rules?" Extremists, under the leadership of Count Albert de Mun and M. Jacques Pion, said no, and urged both clergy and laity to ignore the law. Moderate laymen of the greatest personal eminence, like Messieurs d'Haussonville, Brunetière and Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, said yes, and more than twenty of them framed a memorial to the hierarchy of France, urging episcopal authorization for the forming of these associations. The Bishops of France, however, were disposed to wait until the Holy Father should pronounce a final decision in this matter. Beyond his encyclical (which we will presently consider) condemning the principle of the law, the Pope preferred to wait until after the parliamentary elections of May 6 and 20, 1906, to learn from the outcome the political complexion of the next Chamber of Deputies and the consequent chances of modifications in the law in a more liberal sense. From the agitation over the taking of inventories not a few in France and in Rome hoped for a virtual repudiation by a majority of the voters of the law of separation.

Meanwhile, it was clear from the terms of the law as adopted December 9, 1905, that *in default* of associations for the maintenance of public worship, *the exercises of public worship will be interdicted.* Article eighteen of the law of separation not alone authorizes, but *imperatively prescribes* the formation of these associations, with their conditions specified in detail by articles 19, 21, 22 and 23, relative to their composition, financial management, etc. If these associations should not be formed or are constituted outside the conditions of the law, the legal consequence would be that parish buildings and parochial funds can be claimed by the communes for the purpose of devoting them to secular works of charitable assistance; as to the cathedrals and churches, confiscation by the State, department or commune would seem to be their predestined fate. The law has not been limited to a regulation of the forms of religious associations; it has also regulated the liberty of reunion for the exercises of religion. Reunions for public worship cannot be held except in premises belonging to or rather held by an association for the maintenance of religion; where no such associations exist there can be no premises legally devoted to these exercises and every public reunion will become impossible. As regards Protestant churches and congregations of Israelites, the question has already been settled by the formation of these associations, organized or being organized according to the provisions of the law. The Catholic hierarchy arranged for a plenary reunion or episcopal conference to take place after the parliamentary elections to consider the whole situation and to report to the Holy See any decision or opinions that might develop from this conference. The law allows the Church until December

9, 1906, for the formation of associations for the maintenance of public worship. Several prelates have pointed out the difficulties of their formation and successful operation. For the least infraction of the complex rules which regulate them they can be dissolved and all the goods that they will have inherited from the present trustees of the churches will be taken away from the parish. In a collective letter the Cardinals of France have declared: "These associations, organized outside of all authority of the Bishops and of the rectors, are by that same feature the negation of the organization of the Church and a venture that is formally schismatic. The essential vice of the associations for public worship is to create an association purely lay to impose it upon the Catholic Church."

In his encyclical of February, 1906, His Holiness Pope Pius X. has condemned the principles underlying the law and justly stigmatized it as the crowning act of a long series of aggressive governmental attacks upon religion. With ringing emphasis the encyclical declares:

"We reprove and we condemn the law voted in France upon the separation of the Church and of the State as profoundly offensive as regards God, whom it officially disowns in laying down as a principle that the Republic did not recognize any religion. We reprove and condemn it as violating the natural law, the law of nations and public fidelity due to treaties; as contrary to the divine constitution of the Church, to her essential rights and to her liberty; as subverting justice and trampling under foot the rights of property that the Church has acquired by multiplied titles and besides in virtue of the Concordat. We reprove and condemn it as gravely offensive for the dignity of this Apostolic See, for our person, for the episcopate, for the clergy and for all French Catholics."

The encyclical contains a splendid arraignment of the whole series of anti-religious French legislative acts, of which the law of separation is the culmination, recalling that:

"You have seen violated the sanctity and inviolability of Christian marriage by legislative dispositions in formal contradiction with them; secularization of the schools and hospitals; wresting clerics from their studies and from ecclesiastical discipline to constrain them to military service; dispersion and despoilment of the religious congregations and the reduction generally of their members to the most utter destitution. Other legal measures have followed that you all know; they have abrogated the law which ordered public prayers at the beginning of each parliamentary session and at the reopening of the courts; suppressed the signs of mourning, traditional on shipboard, on Good Friday; effaced from the judicial oath that which it comprised of a religious character; banished from court rooms,

from the schools, from the army and navy, finally, from all public establishments, every act or every emblem which was able in any fashion whatsoever to recall religion. These measures and others yet, which little by little separated in fact the Church from the State, were nothing else than landmarks placed in the aim of attaining to complete and official separation; their promoters themselves have not hesitated to recognize it openly and on many occasions!"

Yet every measure restrictive of the rights of religion and the liberty of the Church adopted since 1871 has received a virtual endorsement at the hand of a majority of the voters of France. Almost every one (perhaps all) of those who voted for a separation of the churches from the State has been reëlected to the Chamber of Deputies in the parliamentary elections recently held, and the anti-religious elements rejoice in an increased majority in the Chamber that will now rule the destinies of France.

A decision from the Holy See authorizing or prohibiting the formation of "associations for public worship" will be rendered perhaps before these lines appear in print. Upon that decision rests in a very large measure the fate of the Catholic religion in France.

The future of the French as a people has perhaps been foreshadowed with perfect accuracy by the Emperor of Germany. During his last visit to Rome His Imperial Majesty declared: "We do not dream of attacking France. Leave the French alone and they will destroy themselves, for a nation without God is lost."

F. W. Parsons.

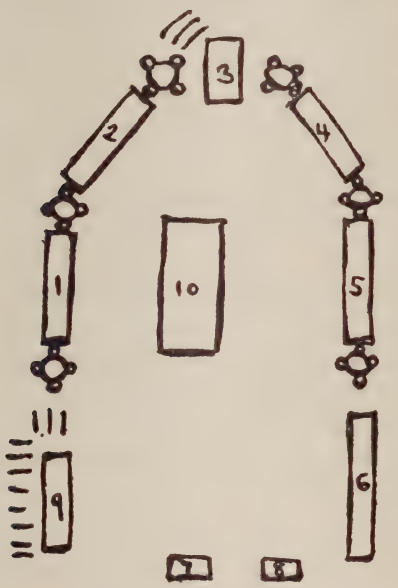
THE SHRINE OF SAINT EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

I.

IT IS an English Benedictine who reminds us that in the old days Westminster Abbey was more than the great pile we all visit and long to know. "Then as now it was the burial place of the mighty and renowned, the scene of great historical events; but it was, besides, the church of a famous monastery, the home of solemn daily and nightly worship of the Most High, the dwelling place of the Living God, the shrine of a glorious saint." That sad shell of greatness has indeed lost the sacramental presence; it is only a crumb of comfort, yet it is comfort to a history loving Catholic, that the last clause quoted still holds true. St. Edward the Confessor, despite many vicissitudes, still sleeps in his own reërected

abbey, and though diminished, battered and in part altered, his shrine still guards his dust. The double circumstance is unusual and marks a continuity of nearly seven and a half centuries. English law made war on the relics of all accounted worthy of religious veneration. SS. William of York, John of Beverley, Richard of Chichester and Thomas of Hereford were spared by accident, but their beautiful shrines are gone; St. Frideswide, abbess and tradi-

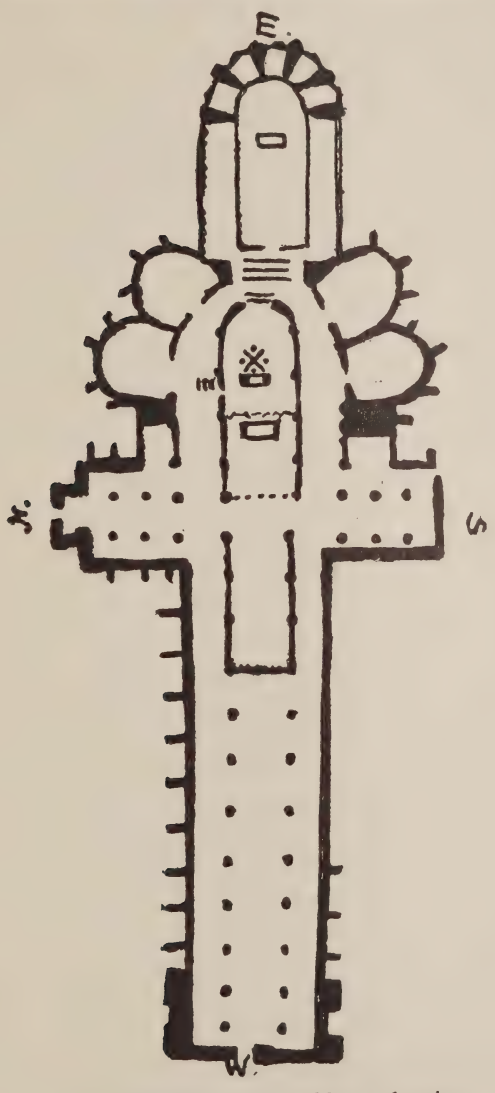
PLAN OF ST. EDWARD'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.



1. King Henry III., 1272.
2. Queen Eleanor, 1290.
3. King Henry V., 1422.
4. Queen Philippa, 1369.
5. King Edward III., 1377.
6. King Richard II. and Queen Anne of Bohemia, 1399, 1394.
7. Coronation chair of Queen Mary II., 1688.
8. Ancient coronation chair brought from Scotland by King Edward I.
9. King Edward I., 1307.
10. St. Edward the Confessor, 1065.

tional foundress of Oxford, very probably lies yet in her renamed Cathedral Church of Christ, where fragments of her shrine have been recovered and carefully pieced together, as St. Alban's, too, have been in his own minster; but certified shrine and saint together, out of all the treasured saints and shrines of mediæval England, are to be found in London's precious abbey alone. If St. Edward's body reposes to-day in the tabernacle of frayed stone and dim glass

mosaic which has stood where it stands since the translation of 1269, the immunity accorded to him and to it was doubtless a tribute not to his holiness, but to his royalty and the enforced respect in which



Ground plan of the abbey, showing the relative position of the Confessor's shrine.
* Notice the three existing altars, as against some thirteen in former times.

all royalty was held by the generation who trembled under the Tudors. It is difficult otherwise to account for the preservation of the whole lower half of the shrine. We know how roods all over

England were repeatedly ordered to be "taken down unto the cross-beam;" how reredos were choked with plaster, and even holy water stoups and the brackets and corbels for images hewn level with the wall. Merely as a canonized servant of God St. Edward would have had no chance at all. His rank secured for his memory a designed and therefore unique exemption.

Of that glorious church he is even yet, as Professor Freeman reminds us, the most haunting presence. He was its guardian genius in life and in death. "Here Edward designed to place palace and monastery in each other's close neighborhood, to make Westminster the centre of the strongest national feelings of religion and loyalty. And he had his reward. His scheme prospered in his own time, and it has survived to ours. His minster still stands, though rebuilt; and within its walls a long succession of Kings have received the crown whose special glory was to have been the crown of Edward. And the walls which had beheld their crowning beheld also their burial. Westminster has supplanted Sherborne and Glastonbury and Winchester as the resting place of the Kings and worthies of our land, all because of him. The dedication of the abbey, not originated, but only confirmed by St. Edward, the second founder, was to the Prince of the Apostles. Most people know the lovely old legend how a Thames fisherman had a vision of St. Peter himself solemnly consecrating the little Saxon church which stood where is now the eastern half of the abbey nave; the little church on Thorneye, among marshlands and braided streams, with its ferry and its thick willows and its few busy Benedictines coming and going all night and all day. It may have been raised by the piety and care of King Seberl, who died A. D. 616; in the south ambulatory to-day is a tomb called his, and a stone coffin which at any rate our Edward must have seen and known. Within its dark, lowly walls his own devotion to St. Peter grew; his memorable rebuilding of them was not his own idea, but that of the Pope. Edward, exiled in his mother's Normandy and doubtful indeed of his chance of succession to the crown, made a vow that if Danish rule should pass away from England and himself come into his father's inheritance, he would undertake a pilgrimage to Rome. This was a difficult matter in the wild eleventh century; and, as it turned out, duty at home so claimed him and detained him that he could not fulfill his vow; but St. Peter's successor commuted it for him by charging him to found a church in honor of St. Peter, or else repair and enrich one formerly placed under the invocation of that great name, uniquely dear of yore to the English people. The King, restored to his throne when forty years old, had but to look across from his palace windows to see a neighboring church of St. Peter on Thorneye, reduced to partial

ruin by the Danes, which as already familiar and beloved was a fit subject for his munificence. And the discharge of his vow, his expression of gratitude to Almighty God, became his constant interest and the brightness of his declining years.

The new church, a piece of purest Norman architecture, started long before the Norman conquerors came across the Channel, arose in the then novel cruciform shape and was far more splendid than any ecclesiastical building then extant in England. It rose slowly and solidly, to the east of the little Saxon monastic fane, the remains of the latter not being pulled down until its supplanter was, though incomplete, ready for use. For many years a covered way led from one to the other. Half of this Norman abbey church, the nave, stood for centuries, joined to the upspringing transepts, choir and Lady chapel of later and lovelier styles, nor was it destroyed and built over until the reign of Edward the First. Modern discovery of the pier bases shows us, to our astonishment, that in size the Confessor's erection was almost comparable to the abbey of to-day.

On December 28, A. D. 1065, the feast of the Holy Innocents (or Childermas, as it was then sweetly called), the finished portion was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Abbot of Westminster, head of a new community of no fewer than seventy monks. It was a happy day, hallowed by the touching pomp of the liturgy; but a sadness hung over it because King Edward lay dying. His Queen, Edith, knelt in the sanctuary as his representative, with perhaps all her own proud kinsmen standing nigh to mark, unconsciously, her contrasted figure and let her seem what she was, a dove in a storm. Edward had fallen ill during the autumn, but had taken part in all the solemn preliminary ceremonies of the consecration, wearing his crown there in public up to and including St. John's Day, the 27th. Then his weakness overcame him on the very eve of the longed-for occasion. An anonymous contemporary Latin chronicle, printed in the Rolls Series from among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, gives us an account of his last hours. We learn that Edith had nursed him devotedly and was kneeling by his pillow in Westminster Palace, with Harold and Fostig and others of her blood and of his. "Ever and anon would he comfort the Queen, who never ceased weeping, that he might lessen her burden of sorrow. 'Fear naught,' he would say, 'I shall not die; for by God's mercy I shall be better.' Nor by this speech did he deceive her who knew his mind. The God-beloved King Edward is truly not dead; but overthrowing death, he passed into life with Christ. Just before his spirit turned heavenward he was heard to utter strange words about a "dead branch engrafted in the green tree." This famous prophecy has perplexed many and been interpreted in a score of ways.

There are some who think it was a political forecast which has long ago come true. But there are also some who love to associate that prediction of an English royal saint with a glory still far in the future—the reunion of England with the Apostolic See. On the Epiphany, a day fragrant with memories of holy Kings, Edward, son of Ethelred the Unready, was laid before the high altar of his own church in a plain overground tomb of stone which he had had prepared for himself. The love which he had won so lavishly all his life did not forsake him in death, and his sarcophagus was soon covered with plates or scales of silver and gold, symbolizing a popular veneration. There for long he lay in the Westminster of St. Peter, under a splendid pall placed by William the Conqueror. Ten years later Queen Edith, or Edgitha, was buried at his right hand.

Edward's as yet uncanonized memory (for it was not until the year 1161, under Pope Alexander the Third, that Edward was publicly declared to be worthy of veneration) instantly became dear to pilgrims and pious folk and to those seeking his intercession in sickness or trouble; more than that, his grave became the very touchstone of national feeling, though literally under the eyes of the Norman court.

One remarkable and well attested circumstance illustrating the long racial strife happened there which gave new life to a cultus already popular. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, was commanded by William the Conqueror, in the year 1076, to resign his see, as so many others had been forced to do, in favor of a newly imported prelate, who in this case was none other than that mighty builder whom we know as Gundulf of Rochester. Wulstan refused firmly to deliver up his crosier, symbol of a pastoral office conferred on him at King Edward's wish by the Pope; only to these two, he said, and not to the invader, would he return it. This declaration seems to have been made in the abbey church itself; for striding forward the stout Saxon planted his crosier in the Confessor's tomb. Not Gundulf, not any man nor number of men were able to move it, say the chronicles, until the primate bade the victorious Wulstan take it again and keep his beloved see.

Edward was duly canonized after various delays of one nature or another incident to the stormy time. A century had gone by; the King now reigning was the headstrong and much harassed Henry II., and the primate, as yet the King's honored friend, was the great Thomas à Becket. It is strange to think of these two, whose tragically intertwined after-story we know, bending together over the opened tomb of Edward, the lover of law and of peace. The latter lay still as if asleep, his cheeks ruddy, his flaxen beard "straight as a lily," his rich shroud, unstained, about him. And thus was he

raised as an acknowledged saint, from his simple resting place before the high altar, to a golden and jeweled shrine, standing on the same site in his own massive arched minster of St. Peter.

This was on October 13, A. D. 1163, a day kept ever since in the Roman Calendar as St. Edward's Day. Abbot Laurence assisted Becket through all the arduous ceremony carried out before the King and his court, and from the long-dead Confessor, before leaving him in his shrine, the abbot took a great surcoat of golden tissue (out of which three precious and famous copes were made) and the ring which, according to one of the loveliest of English legends, had been sent to him by St. John the Evangelist. This unique treasure was added to the Westminster reliquary, but was lost sight of centuries ago. For his tribute of love and good-will the tall, ascetic Archbishop who had officiated at this first translation of St. Edward gave an ivory statuette of Our Lady to adorn the new shrine, surely not foreseeing how his own martyrdom at Canterbury, seven years later, was to raise a popular local memorial far more magnificent.

As all the world knows, the present glorious abbey is the third church on its site. The choir, lateral chapels and transepts are the thirteenth century work of King Henry III., and the nave and cloisters, built years later, that of Edward I. King Henry the Third, whatever he did or failed to do, was an artist; and no man's fate can be called unkind to him which allows his dreams to win for themselves so grand a concrete expression. The abbey is the most talked about and written up of extant churches, but it is not always recognized for the divinely fair thing which it is. The addenda are too obtrusive. Since the Reformation, alas! it has gradually come to be a charnel house and a museum. The dominant impression it leaves on the tourist who sees it for the first time is that of statuary and epitaphs crowded under a soaring vault or ranged down long aisles tinted with a twilight as of October meadows. It is only after repeated visits and study that one shakes off the sickening tyranny of the pomps of the grave and begins to note with intelligence and grief how this elaboration of splendid appealing beauty is polluted and canceled by modern uses. Every chapel a lumber room, every arcade cut into, every niche marred or emptied, every chantry altar displaced, every light out, every bronze "Orate" made barren—this is what comes home to the lover, most of all to the Catholic lover, of Westminster Abbey. Across the ruining years he sees the "edges and the bordering light" of the vision which Henry the Third, aided strenuously by the people and the Black Monks, bade come true; there are not many sights in the world which better excuse the rising of an honest tear. Exquisite care is given to the fabric now; but it is too late. Materialism has gnawed it with a tooth sharper than

Time's, and generations of unloving or unthinking men have recked little "how the most fine gold is changed and the stones of the sanctuary poured out in the top of every street."

St. Edward's shrine as we see it to-day is, allowing for all its mishaps since then, part of the work of King Henry III. "Quiet King Henry," as Fuller calls him, was both liberal and extravagant. His heart was set upon building and adorning at the Westminster, and he had no scruple in taxing his subjects for so worthy an end. He himself told Matthew Paris, the celebrated chronicler of St. Alban's, that he had spent one hundred thousand marks (over a million and a half of our money) upon it. To Henry's personal and religious devotion to the Confessor's memory was due this replacement of the Norman abbey church by the lofty erection begun about 1235, when he had been reigning fifteen years. It was that which gave to God, in care of the English people and the monks of St. Benedict, a consummate masterpiece of Christian architecture. During the process a temporary shelter was provided for St. Edward's relics in the palace across the way, pending the completion of the new magnificent royal chapel. In this second translation the relics were nobly enshrined behind the high altar, as was usual; and to support the shrine and the whole enclosure there was heaped up a great mound of earth brought from the Holy Land. This is still the substance of the circular hillock to which visitors climb, little thinking what sacred romance has gone to the massing of the exotic soil under their feet.

Henry began, as Edward himself had begun, with the east end. Finished choir and transepts were thrown open during the winter of the year 1270. Months before, on St. Edward's own day, October 13, there had been lavish feasting in his name provided for all the poor, when two Kings and four Princes before a vast concourse had borne him shoulder high to his throne of final sleep. Once again men of another century sow his incorrupt mortal body; this may well have given a touch of added emotion to the majestic ceremony. The new Abbey of St. Peter, towering above him to a groined height he had never dreamed of, was a daringly novel experiment. There was cosmopolitanism, citizenship of the universe, in the British Isles then; and nobody thought it strange that details of that Gothic interior should be "foreign," because they were welcomed as being the best. Abbot Ware (possibly the instigator of the King in regard to the whole great enterprise) had taken advantage of the æsthetic revival in Italy to bring back with him from his journey to Rome his decorative idea, his material and even his workmen. The names of the latter deserve to be in benediction—Odericus and him whom we know as Peter the Roman. These masters and their masons made the shrine; they laid the rich mosaic pavement before

the high altar; they designed and adorned the lofty, delicate tomb of porphyry and jasper which King Henry's son and successor built for him near the Confessor, and which, with its effigy in gilded metal, full of seep, is dear to-day to every lover of perfect things. One can fancy the commotion which would arise if the Anglican authorities at Westminster should now give such a commission to Italian craftsmen of repute! though London then was a far more artistic city than it is now. But a stone's throw south, in the huge Cathedral "of the Roman obedience," Catholicism has gone calmly on after her free immemorial habit, gathering in treasure from the four quarters of the earth and from the seven seas, to adorn a house of God in England.

Two Queens were reburied at the same time as the Saxon royal saint. Somewhere at the north side of his shrine now sleeps Edith, his gentle wife, and for centuries the great chest containing the abbey relics stood over her second and unmarked grave. On the south side of the shrine was laid another Edith, holy and learned, better known to us under her changed Norman name of Matilda, or Maud, Queen of King Henry Beauclerc, who herself knelt many a day and night in prayer by her great-uncle's hallowed dust. These two noble ladies have no tombs nor epitaphs to mark their English graves in the soil of Palestine. Between them rose the famous shrine and the "Edward altar" placed against its foot. Battered, altered and neglected (neglected not now, indeed, in the technical, but only in the liturgical sense) the poor shrine is still recognizably beautiful, with its gracefully proportioned base, its little twisted enameled columns, miniatures of those in the cloisters of St. John Lateran; its trefoil arches of Purbeck marble, three on each side, and their recesses, where the sick were laid long ago to pray and be prayed for; its dim pathetic intermittent gleams of color and gilding. The square upper half must be to us as if it were not, would we try to form any idea of its ancient form and look. It used to be roof-shaped, rising over the chest, itself resting on the arches which contained the saint's body. Along the top of this oak ridge was a row of angels and saints interspersed with statuettes of donors and benefactors kneeling there in the comely childlike mediæval fashion. These were in beaten silver and gold, and the same metals, interspersed with jewels laid in mosaicwise covered the slanted sides, which faced north and south, and must have seemed to the devout people like a little watershed of the grace of God. A light wooden cover, over which some embroidered cloth was thrown, usually concealed the apex of the structure. This was always drawn up on great festivals (here as elsewhere) by pulleys, so that the precious fabric of St. Edward's shrine should be visible in all its brightness even to the far-away

multitude beyond the rood screen in the nave. The "Edward altar," as it was called for distinction, was small and simple, but costly and lovely. The shrine, at the west end of which it stood, provided it for reredos and dorsal. The celebrant here at the daily Mass long ago, facing his gold crucifix (King Henry's gift) and the tapers, moved between golden and ivory figures of St. Edward himself and of St. John the Evangelist in pilgrim weeds, which stood upon short spiral pillars, serving as pedestals. These (as can be noticed in their present position) are much more massive than the longer detached ones of the same date which still mark the northeast and southeast angles of the shrine. The saint's votive altar, curiously enough, was spared under Elizabeth, stripped and converted into a "table" to hold regalia, which was so used at several coronations; but it vanished somewhere about the date of Queen Ann's accession. It seems now, as we shall see presently, to have come back to stay.

The Plantagenet line of Edwards began with Edward Longshanks, who had received in baptism, as Henry the Third's cherished son, the name of the canonized patron whom Henry so venerated. That warlike scion of a home-keeping father, when he had conquered Wales, had the coronet of his foe, Llewellyn, the last Prince of his line, brought to be offered at St. Edward's shrine. The little heir who carried it thither from the victor's camp in his twelve-year-old hands, and died almost immediately afterwards, has been long forgotten by history. Prince Alfonzo was at that time his father's only surviving boy; he got his un-English name from his grandsire, the King of Castile, through his mother, the beloved and remembered "Alianor iadis Reyne de Engleterre." He, too, one of five young children of Edward and Eleanor, noted for their extreme beauty, sleeps well near the great shrine, "entre les roials." His younger brother Edward, the one worthless monarch of the name, also endowed the shrine. It was dear to the Black Prince and to his son Richard; to Henry IV., the latter's supplanter; to Edward IV., who was led away from it to die in the Jerusalem Chamber; to Henry V., who knelt many a time in his manly piety beside it; to the gentle Sixth Henry, preëminent among lovers of St. Edward, by whose side he desired to lie in death, and even to Richard the Third, who came hither in state with his sad young Queen to offer blood-stained coronation gifts. To every class and kind in England the shrine was a singularly sacred spot down to the Reformation, which swept the cultus and the fabric all but away. Of these royal donors one (possibly Henry VI., but more probably Edward IV.) bestowed something which yet remains. This is the exquisitely sculptured frieze which runs along the whole of the west screen of the chapel over the coronation chairs. In a series of carvings full

both of poetic fact and of wild imaginings, the tale is sweetly told, in crumbled stone, how the seven saints of Ephesus turned over in their sleep; how Satan danced upon the wine casks, or how the Ludlow palmers met in the Holy Land a wayfarer who said he was John the Beloved Disciple, and who sent back by them to Edward their King, as a summons to heaven, a ring once given by the royal charity to this very wayfarer, then a beggar, beneath the palmers' native skies, far away.

II.

The shrine was rifled and made desolate by Henry VIII.'s authorized destroyers, and all its many articles of value were transferred to His Majesty's coffers. Ruin befell at least its upper part or feretrum. A persistent local tradition asserts that the holy King's relics were concealed from harm (it is supposed by legal connivance with private daring) and buried "outside the sanctuary, towards the north," there to lie until Queen Mary Tudor upraised the old religion. With the official restoration of England to the Unity of the Church came bright busy days to the Abbey Church of Westminster. In Henry Machyn's now famous Diary, under date of March 20, 1557, is this entry: "Was taken up again, with an hundred lights, King Edward the Confessor, in the same place where his shrine was; and it shall be set up again as fast as my Lord Abbot can have it done. For it was a goodly sight to have seen how reverently it was carried from the place where he was laid when that the Abbey was spoiled and robbed; and so was he carried; and goodly singing and incensing as has been seen, and Mass sung."

The Queen and King, Mary and Philip, followed in the procession through the cloisters. The shrine was rebuilt within the month; alas, how unbeautifully! Faith, being suffering but immortal, only needed to be waked and delivered; but architecture, the sweetest of English arts and the most loyal to faith, was dead, as it were, of grief—the heavy cornice and the upper arches of the shrine, round and wooden, the double row of ugly little "classical" arches date from this period. Mary's exchequer was almost empty; she gave fresh jewels and images, but could spend no more. The thing to do was to get the shrine in order somehow, as a symbol of a people repentant and restored. No doubt it was intended to make it eventually as ornate as of old. "My Lord Abbot" of Machyn's mention was Feckenham, last abbot of his line, and a truly pathetic and still living figure. It was he who added to the new superstructure the many inscriptions now defaced. It makes one sympathize keenly with the poor idle hoe which inspired the Marian rebuilding, to see "Sursum corda!" among the legible words, faintly gleaming from the tarnished surface.

There is another recognizable token of the time in the present position of the thick twisted half columns which lie flush with the west wall of the shrine. These pillars, formerly pedestals for the statues of SS. Edward and John, stood long after the historic images they supported had been destroyed, one on either side of the forlorn space where the pre-Reformation altar had been. Abbot Feckenham had them shoved in, for preservation, to the incongruous position at either corner which they have ever since occupied; and during Mary's brief reign, that troubled and discolored mirage of Catholicism, the "Edward altar" itself was replaced for a precarious little while.

Feckenham, who had formerly been dean of St. Paul's, ruled a community of eight and twenty at Westminster. Among these was Dom Sigebert Bulkeley, who in his captive old age, as the last of all his brethren, was destined to save from extinction the dynastic glory of the English Benedictines and pass on the succession to our happier day. In 1554 High Mass and the full Catholic liturgy were restored to the abbey. The cultus of St. Edward, which had never really been interrupted, took on new life, and once again the royal chapel was strewn on his feast with rushes and with mint, thyme and lavender, while rich and poor streamed in to seek his fatherly intercession. The wheel of things turns again when, on December 13, A. D. 1558, the sad Queen was laid to rest. It was a uniquely magnificent funeral ceremony, but overclouded with foreboding, and it was followed by another great Requiem ten days later for her father-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. But Elizabeth, a new force, was arising to stamp her strong Protestant will on the hot wax of the age. In April, A. D. 1561, exactly four hundred years after St. Edward's canonization, all the beautiful altars of the abbey were broken down except his own, and that stood not saintly and kingly, but forlorn and meaningless in the sacramental absence of the King of Kings and the saint of saints. Sunset and the Arctic night were come upon the great Westminster. "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him."

Nothing in particular seemed to have befallen the bare shrine for more than a hundred years, during which the most momentous storms and changes were passing over the land. At the coronation of King James the Second, in 1685, seats for the court and spectators were arranged, as they have been arranged for such occasions ever since, in all available spaces near the chancel. A high scaffolding was built all around the Confessor's chapel, and while this was in the process of removal one of the heaviest beams fell on the upper part of the shrine, smashing the woodwork and even the lid of the coffin. The damage wrought was not very promptly repaired. A choirman named Keepe (according to other accounts it was one Young, then

a recent convert to Catholicism) climbed up by means of a ladder, made an examination of the relics and took a pretty thorough inventory of the state of the body and of its vesture and ornaments. He drew from among the bones a splendid enameled crucifix on a gold chain and presented it to the King. It does not seem clear whether this was sold by his son, whom it is a shame to call by his most recognizable historic name, the Old Pretender, or whether, as Sir Henry Ellis thinks, it was in possession of an Austrian noble in Napoleon's time. St. Edward's broken coffin was then enclosed in a new oblong chest clamped with iron, but the shrine was never repaired. The coffin could be seen from Henry the Fifth's chantry, standing above it and just east of it, until the coronation of the present King, when the beautiful covering was thrown over the whole upper part of the shrine and left there, as a strange and welcome reminder of its aspect long ago. That serves as one example of the scrupulously loving and superintelligent care which is now given to the whole interior of the abbey, and, if particularizing were possible, to the Capella Regum in particular. Public feeling has so righted itself now that even those to whom literary genius is dearest must shudder to remember that when Addison died, in 1719, his statue, now in Poets' Corner, came very near being reared against St. Edward's shrine! Imagine the hubbub, not among antiquaries alone, which the rumor of some such proceeding would occasion to-day!

There is the spectacle of "ruinated" mediæval loveliness all over England, and even in Westminster Abbey; the explanations proffered for it are various and instructive. The true reason is, in general, one that the national mind (now turned clean to the right-about by the Oxford movement) refuses to dwell on. English guides and guide books, as must often have been noticed, are excessively fond of attributing any local ecclesiastical vandalism to Oliver Cromwell. Wherever in a renowned sanctuary the tourist inquires concerning some broken arcading, some great window despoiled of all but splinters of its priceless glass, or some delicate perpendicular canopy hacked and hewed over an empty plastered niche where once stood a patron saint in alabaster, the answer almost invariably incriminates the Puritans of the Commonwealth and their dark and apparently ubiquitous leader. Not a verger of them all, it would appear, has ever heard of such a thing as the Blessed Reformation and the playful habits of the Bluebeard King's commissioners. The one never identified as the "ruinator" is that active servile Cromwell, hunter of monks and friars, whose tyrannies passed into the tradition of the common people, only to be confused with the man of war and rule who a century later bore his name. Stow says concerning the likeli-

hood of Cæsar's having built the White Tower of London that "Cæsar hadd in his head no suche matter, but to dispatch the Conquest of this barbarus Countrie." So with the Protector and the Cathedrals. He was much too busy, he was much too finite (being burdened with an incapacity to be everywhere all the time!) to have done one-sixtieth part of the mischief laid to his door. Apart from the forgotten fact that most churches had already been for three generations in a state of extreme nakedness, Fairfax and some lesser Roundhead leaders distinguished themselves memorably on divers occasions as very painstaking conservators of ancient holy things in which they had no religious interest. Far other was the temper of greedy King Harry, his young son, and his second daughter. Their whole business in life was to set up the Tudor monopoly, confiscate or pervert endowments and destroy all religious art, scholarship and tradition in England by way of tweaking the nose of the obstinate See of Rome. The harm wrought, it is well to remember, was not sporadic vandalism, but "judicial acts of the Elizabethan Bishops, in conjunction with the Elizabethan Ministers." At the abbey they are too intelligent to impute universal spoliation to Oliver; thereabouts, as it would appear, fancy has her flights and descends to no such tautology. For example, one finds in a pamphlet in orange paper covers, "printed for the Vergers," and supposedly accurate and official, a bit of comment which for heroic originality and ingenuity, it is safe to say, puts all Cromwellizing excuses in the shade. The pamphlet in question is "The Complete Guide to Westminster Abbey," published by Truscott in 1892 and since. Its description of the Confessor's chapel opens thus:

"The first curiosity that commands your reverence is the ancient venerable Shrine of Saint Edward, once the glory of England, but now defaced and robbed of its beauty by the devotees of this 'extream pious man,' all of whom were proud to possess some stone or dust from his tomb."

Italics were wasted upon this inventive statement. Catholics and connoisseurs must ever find it unexpectedly entertaining, something to light up melancholy thought of the true causes and occasions which

> —have seen
> Those titles vanish, and that strength decay.

To an English-speaking Catholic there can hardly be a more touching and attractive spot than the Confessor's chapel, bound up as it is by visible and invisible links, with the poetry of human history and surcharged with "the imperishable aroma of the Catholic past." The high shrine in the middle, as everybody knows, is ringed with the six royal tombs, in every one of which the body lies overground. How glorious these poor dim things were during the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries, when they and their lost canopies were new, and down to the deadly Reformation, when, though no longer new, they were intact and tenderly cared for, we can now scarcely imagine. Over them is no roof proper to an enclosure, but only the lofty vaulting of the aisles or ambulatories, a dusky heaven of masonry, braided far up with the amethystine London light, the most beautiful light in the world. East is the stone screen separating the shrine from the high altar and the sacrarium; north and south runs a converging pageant of apsidal chapels (overcrowded and spoiled with intruded monuments); westward and encroaching on the more ancient burial places of Eleanor and Philippa

> —Queens
> Whose names are written up in gold,

rises the exquisite H-shaped perpendicular chantry of the dear soldier who was once Holinshed's and Shakespeare's Wild Prince Hal. From top to bottom it is one blossom of elaborate sculpture, every figure in its place, except the altar crucifixion, which is gone. Full-length figures in their lovely niches look gravely down, and on a tie-beam above them all hang in full sight the saddle, helmet and shield, not indeed of Agincourt, as is commonly said, but of the funeral of seven years later, when "Harry the Fifth, too famous to live long," was borne to his rest, aged thirty-three, "to the great Grief of all goode men." The little jewel of an oratory half way up forms the horizontal cross-piece of the letter H. Directly under it, on the floor level, lies the headless royal effigy, once all silver-plated oak and once with sceptre, head, hands and feet of solid silver. In the little room or chantry proper, approached by worn steps winding through the upright sections, was the young King's memorial altar. He asked to have it placed there, dedicated in honor of the Annunciation of Our Lady and of All Saints, in order that every soul worshiping in the great church should be able to see daily the elevation of the Host at his Mass, and at other times to add to their Ave Maria a little prayer in English for him who slept below: "Mary, Mother, be mindful of thy servant Henry, who placed his trust in thee." Where that altar stood the altar stone, with its five crosses perfect, still is, and under it have been placed the bones of his widow, Queen Katherine of Valois. A special permit from the dean is necessary to enter the chantry; the vista of the nave from this point, and of the loftiest vaulting in England, is a thing not soon to be forgotten. Just beyond us, in the other direction, looking east, is the great chapel of Henry the Seventh, himself grandson of Katherine of Valois and the Welsh gentleman whom she married for her second husband, "the most beautiful person of that age."

Sweeping from the abbey floor level to its own majestic gates are the steps which the prudent builder got Pope Julius II. to enrich with the indulgence of the Scala Sancta at Rome. Has any Catholic pilgrim, in his historic enthusiasm, passing to the spacious church-within-a-church which the first crowned Tudor built, remembered this? Surely an indulgence lasts.

The time of all times to see the Confessor's chapel and to feel to the full the mystery, romance and sanctity of the whole environment is on St. Edward's Day. Catholics have always found their way to the shrine on October 13; even through penal times it was so; very noticeably has it been so for the last fifty or sixty years, since the Oxford movement and its converts brought a fresh tidal wave of intelligent faith and zeal to deepen the spiritual life of the children of the martyrs. The abbey authorities never have opposed in any way these annual gatherings, and gradually, cumulatively, they have taken on a definite form and come to be one of the striking, though unadvertised, sights of London. It is wonderful to watch thousands of people quietly and recollectedly pouring into St. Edward's Chapel, mounting and descending by the two small ancient staircases, as oblivious of everything outside their pious purpose as if Protestant occupation were a dream, and exile and persecution had never driven their forbears from home. For this is indeed home; this is the very quick and lodestar of Catholic England.

The present King, the first reigning Edward not Catholic-born, and Queen Alexandra were crowned in August, 1902. The Confessor's chapel was used then, as always on such occasions, for the tiring room. Two little houses or square tents of brocaded velvet were built to right and left of the shrine, each adorned with table and mirror; and these were taken down when their special use was over. At the same time over the shrine itself was hung by chains from the vaulting a brocaded velvet pall of the same amber color and the same pattern, this being a conventionalized crown alternating with royal roses. At the western and open end, over against St. Edward's feet, was placed a most graceful golden rood, a lovely bit of work, having the attendant figures of Our Lady and St. John. This was the King's gift to the abbey, and replaced the symbol of our redemption in a spot whence it had been absent more than three hundred years. Directly under it was rebuilt the little "Edward altar," adorned with a fine linen cloth, simple tapers in tasteful candlesticks, and on the frontal devices religious and armorial. Along the cornice of the provisional altar was worked the text: *"Cor regis in manu Domini,"* taken from Prov. xxi., 1, and worked all around the border of the rich covering of the shrine could be read the passage (pleasant and non-committal) chosen by the present dean from

the eleventh century account of the Confessor's happy death: *"Deo carus Rex Edwardus non mortuus est, sed cum XPO victurus de morte ad vitam migravit."* Now the delightful circumstance about these charming decorations devised in honor of the coronation of King Edward VII. is that they have never been removed since from the Confessor's chapel.* How wonderfully they heighten the Catholic atmosphere of the place on St. Edward's Day can be realized only by those who have been so fortunate as to see or join the Westminster pilgrimage of 1903, 1904 or 1905.

Imagine coming and going at will through that vast twilight all day long (save only during the two services of matins and evensong) a great stream of London people, most of whom visit the abbey on no other day. They enter by "Solomon's Porch," the north transept door; they pass over the graves of Fox, Pitt, Grattan, the Cannings, Peel and Gladstone; they come in groups up the beautiful ambulatory, and mount the little east stair, past Henry the Fifth's grave, one by one. They converge instantly about the shrine and kneel around it, many of them reaching forward to touch it with their crucifixes, medals or rosaries. There are no public audible devotions; circumstances are against that, and so is etiquette. The orderly multitude are tacitly pledged to a private worship of God and a private invocation of His servant and their friend. One sees there in a ring, with the subdued light playing on their bared heads, a master with his school boys, old folk from hospices and asylums, nobles and business men, soft-footed nuns, ladies, most touching of all, priests, kneeling in the shadow of the new "Edward altar," the phantom minor altar where no sacrifice has been offered. There they kneel, with their breviaries, a half hour at a time. Ordinary tourists get caught up as in a tidal bore; vergers stand about, always in a mood of official friendliness to the people who hold the founder in such loving veneration. Some of the devout throng visit the shrine more than once between dawn and dark. With their seriousness, their silence, the historic pathos and significance of the scene, the unearthly colors in air over the warm stone, the hint of physical beauty which is on almost every downcast brow of the "Angles"—they make an emotional moment for any among them who is not of them. It is a moving picture. The dean of the abbey, it may be, stands very still in the angle of the sacrarium doorway next to the mighty "Hammer of the Scots," sleeping under his great gray slab; and the dean has an interested, wholly sympathetic expression on

* Several enchanting pictures, in color, of this interior as it now is may be found in Westminster Abbey. Painted by John Fulleylove, R. I., and described by Mrs. A. Murray Smith. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904.

his dark, individual, rather monastic face. A good woman over by the effigies of King Richard and his beloved Ann beats her worthy breast, murmurs a prayer audibly and lights a candle which she produces from her cloak pocket. During this innocent but highly irregular proceeding the nearest verger looks inquiringly over at the dean, and presently, in fact, goes up and speaks to him. Apparently so delicate, diplomatic a matter calls for no less than Dr. Armitage Robinson's personal intervention. So the long black gaiters go tiptoeing across to the good woman, and the dean says something ever so gently, and the lawless little light is blown out. Meanwhile one of our tall priests has risen to his feet after "long, long thoughts," anxious and holy thoughts, of his dear country and her destiny. His eyes meet the dean's; they know each other, for they smile in the grave English way. There is a light on the "Roman's" lips which tells you the word he is remembering without speech. It is St. Edward's own strange prophecy: "And the Dead Branch shall be grafted into the Green Tree," to which is now added, in the spirit of perfect faith: *"Amen."* This is a good time and place to exercise hope and dream dreams. The far-wandering coronation stone, the Lia, Fail, Egyptian, Spanish, Irish, Scots, the hoary stone which, tradition says, pillowed Jacob's tired head at Bethel and witnessed the ladder of angels wavering between earth and heaven, the immemorial stone of visions is next the knee of some who pray for England and for the restoration of her full Christian birthright. You see the reunion of Christendom steadily and see it whole every St. Edward's Day. Miracles, or rapid spiritual processes, seem most natural on that apostolic ground of the metropolitan fane. It is like a rose-gray incense smoke sent up and stayed in air out of national devotion to Christ and His Church and to one who is the rock of that foundation.

"The pilgrimage of October 13," says a man who knows and a monk who feels, "is a solemn expression of the fact that we inherit (and, also, it should be said, we alone) the ancient loyalty of this country to the See of St. Peter."

Among the crowd are High-church Anglicans. The abbey has taken up on its own behalf in recent years the celebration of an anniversary so inblent with its origin and early progress; but it is an anniversary, not a living feast, the ritual chosen being merely and vaguely commemorative. Not so much as a tentative *"Oret" pro nobis* stamps it as positive and filial. Meanwhile, the straightforward homely habit of the abbey's dispossessed heirs, who with enforced informality ask St. Edward's prayers for his own isle, gathered as of old about the spot which was his mortal doorway into heaven, appeals to many who are not of the fold. Faith is not what it was

in Saxon times, but at least the local religious sense is active and general. Whether Protestant or Catholic, as says yet another thoughtful modern writer, "these people *care*. And care is love; and love is service; and service is salvation."

LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY.

THE STORY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DYING.

DOM BEDE CAMM, O. S. B., in a little volume entitled "The Brave Days of Old," gives a new version of the much-disputed "last scene of all this strange eventful history," the protracted death struggle of Queen Elizabeth. Naturally enough, there have been various versions of that memorable and miserable scene. Protestant historians have sought to minimize its tragic impressiveness. Some, indeed, have gone so far as to present it as a deeply edifying, albeit painful episode. Some deplore it as a pitiable exhibition of a great mind gone wrong, but none attempt to emphasize the relation it bears to the ancient tragedies of the great poets wherein Nemesis carries out the dread sentences of the gods, to the last bitter syllable of their decree. Dom Bede Camm takes his account—and it is a mere graphic sketch—from a manuscript chronicle as yet unpublished, the "Annales Collegii Anglorum Vallesoletani." He draws from the annals the story of Elizabeth's last priestly victim, Father William Richardson, or Anderson, a Yorkshire cleric educated on the Continent. His death-warrant was the last signed by the moribund Queen—the "Hag," as the Irish loved to call her and have fastened that name to a bold Western promontory, that it may perpetuate in Ireland forever the memory of her barbarous and bloody reign in the island of piety and learning which she had turned into a corpse-strewn place of abomination, where famine stalked and men and women ate grass and even their own babes. Five weeks after Henry's daughter had affixed her sign-manual to the death warrant her own came from a higher authority. But her doom was not so swift. She had been given leisure to repent, but she had not the grace to call for the mercy of which she stood so much in need. The Annalist thus tells the story:

"Eight or nine days before her death she fell into a stupor and lay back among her cushions, staring as if she saw some terrible vision that affrighted her. She turned her face to the wall and absolutely refused to listen to the entreaties of her attendants that

she would take some food or allow them to remove her to her bed. And when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London came to give her some spiritual consolation, she drove them away with contempt, saying: 'Go, and bad luck be with you. I know too well of what sort you are, for you have brought on me all these miseries which I now suffer, and what comfort, forsooth, can you give to me?' And so she breathed her last, a prey to the most hopeless melancholy and not without other even sadder signs of her spiritual condition."

This brief sketch tallies in nearly every point, except the number of days the Queen remained out of bed, with that of the "young faire Mrs. Southwell," one of the Queen's sworn maids of honor, quoted by the author of the notes to Dr. Lingard's history. This states that the Queen "sate for two dayes and three nyghts on the stole, ready dressed, and would never be brought by anie of the consell to go to bed." "She kept her bed 15 dayes, besides 3 dayes she sat upon the stole, and one day being pulled up by force, stood on her feat 15 hours."

When Shakespeare pictured the dreams of Lady Macbeth and Richard the Third, haunted before death by the spectres of their several gory victims, he could hardly have dreamed that his patroness, Elizabeth, would ere long have furnished the world with an example of the inferiority of the imaginary to the real when "tyrant conscience" stands guard at the gate of death. It was a frightful ordeal, not only to the wretched victim of tormenting remembrances, but to all those who were compelled to witness it. It was an agony prolonged over many days and nights, giving not a moment's rest or cessation either to the sceptred sufferer or the trembling watchers. The painter, Paul Delaroche, has given the world a vivid idea of the external terrors of that benumbing tragedy —the faded paindrawn, ghastly face, the Medusa-like coils of false red hair above the cavernous temples, the gorgeous velvet robe clutched with the bejeweled skeleton fingers, and the haunting look of agony in the hopeless eyes, fixed on the dreaded shore, unseen by all others, whither her grim pilot was steering her life's bark all too surely.

The historian must be sought if we would realize the full meaning of what the painter has sought to convey. Lingard tells how for days the Queen sat dumb and motionless with one of her fingers in her mouth and her eyes fixed on the floor. In paroxysms of her malady—which none understood, as she rejected all medical assistance—it was evident from her mutterings that frightful phantoms were flitting through her restless mind. To Lord Howard, her kinsman, she confided a hint of the visions which thus froze up her

speech and stemmed the blood in her veins. When he urged her to return to bed—she having been for many days propped up on cushions—she replied that if he had seen what she had seen there, he would never so advise her. Could the rapt author of the "Commedia" have had a prevision of that dread scene he could have left the world a fresh marvel of the inspired poet's powers of impressing the lesson of sin and crime in words of imperishable fire.

To Lord Howard later on the dying sovereign said piteously: "I am tied, with an iron collar about my neck." When he strove to console her and banish such delusions, she said: "No; I am tied; and the case is altered with me."

There are some writers of this reign who seek to soften or hide those dreadful portents of approaching doom and convey the impression that Elizabeth's death was tranquil and her understanding good to the last. They also assert that she received the spiritual assistance of the Protestant religion gladly and insisted on its continuance to the last. Lady Southwell's testimony (she is sometimes referred to as Mrs. Southwell) tallies more with the version given by the unknown writer of the "Annals" above referred to. She tells of the conversation between the Queen and Lord Howard; also exposes the deception sought to be fostered by Cecil, the Prime Minister, so as to account for the dreadful ravings of the Queen as she lay in bed and saw the sights that harassed her guilty soul. She is mad, said the wily counsellor, her evil genius in every matter that came up for decision in her later career. She is mad; she knows not what she is saying. But the sharp ears of Elizabeth caught the false report, and she did not leave it long uncorrected. Lady Southwell testified that the Queen one day said to him: "Cecil, know that I am not mad. You must not think to make Queen Jane of me"—meaning Queen Juana of Castille, who was really deranged. Lady Southwell adds that neither herself nor any of the others about the Queen's apartments at the time could perceive any tokens of insanity about her, her speech being quite to the purpose whenever she wished to speak.

About the visit of the Protestant prelates to the dying Queen Lady Southwell is silent. Had that visit—which undoubtedly took place—resulted in bringing about a happier mood in the conscience-tortured sufferer, the world must surely have known of it through such a trustworthy sympathizer. But her silence on the subject is of deep significance.

There is another witness—one who was present in the death chamber and remained there until within a short time of the actual dissolution. This is Henry Cary, Earl of Monmouth. His memoirs were written by himself and published by Boyle, Earl of Cork and

Orrery, a man who, like Cary, for some time enjoyed the favor of the deceased Queen, and, like other favorites, had been put aside when the fickle, vain old woman's transient fancy or passion had been gratified. Monmouth would appear to have at one time stood high in the affections—such as they were—of the ancient coquette, for when he took unto himself a wife she became mightily offended, and in her resentment refused either to see him at court or speak with him for a long time; and when at last State business made an interview unavoidable, Monmouth says that "our first encounter was stormy and terrible, which I passed over in silence."

In his Memoirs Monmouth is very circumspect in his references to the Queen, but it is pretty easy to read between the lines. Whatever their private relations may have been, the sympathies of both were on the side of the party that had gotten the upper hand in the religious struggle, though to either the question at issue was more personal and material than spiritual or theological. Monmouth's statements on the subject of the visits of the Protestant prelates to the Queen in her last hours must be taken with all due reserve. They differ widely from the versions given by Lady Southwell and others who spoke as eye-witnesses. Lady Southwell says that the last words the Queen uttered were: "I will have no rascal's son in my seat"—in reply to the question of the Lords of the Council when the Earl of Beauchamp's name was proposed to her as her successor, along with those of the French and Scottish Kings. ("Rascal's son" was a reference to the fact that Lord Beauchamp's father, Lord Hertford, and Lady Catherine Grey—who was of royal lineage—had been secretly married, to the Queen's great chagrin.) After venting her spleen in this un-Christian way, the Queen relapsed into a state of insensibility, according to Lady Southwell, and did not recover consciousness, but died in that state, but without pain, at 3 o'clock in the morning (March 24, 1603).

For the Bishops and the Lords of the Council, Lingard says, the Queen had expressed the most profound contempt. To no one, save Lord Howard, the High Admiral, and one of her own kinsmen, would she vouchsafe a word. Lady Southwell's diary appears to bear out the statement by its absence of reference to the Bishops. Now comes Lord Monmouth with a far different story. He claims to speak as an eye-witness, too, and as one present in the death chamber until almost the last hour. Here is his version:

"When I came to court I found the Queen ill-disposed, and she kept her inner lodging; yet she, hearing of my arrival, sent for me. I found her in one of her withdrawing chambers, sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her; I kissed her hand and told her it was my chiefest happiness to see her in safety and in health, which

I wished might long continue. She took me by the hand and wrung it hard, and said: 'No, Robin; I am not well,' and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days; and in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs. I was grieved at the first to see her in this plight, for in all my lifetime before I never knew her to fetch a sigh but when the Queen of Scots was beheaded. *Then,* upon my knowledge, she shed many tears and sighs, manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that Queen.

"I used the best words I could to persuade her from this melancholy humor, but I found by her it was too deep-rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon a Saturday night, and she gave command that the great closet should be prepared for her to go to chapel the next morning. The next day, all things being in readiness, we long expected her coming. After 11 o'clock one of the grooms came out and hade make ready the private closet, she would not go to the great. There we stayed long for her coming, but at the last she had cushions laid for her in the privy chamber, hard by the closet door, and there she heard service.

"From that day forwards she grew worse and worse. She remained upon her cushions four days and nights at the least. All about her could not persuade her either to take any sustenance or go to bed."

Here Monmouth tells of his writing to King James telling him of the Queen's condition and notifying him that if she died he would be the first man to ride to Edinburgh to convey the news. He evidently had a keen eye to the main chance, both in London and in the Scottish capital. Then he resumes his story of the death vigil:

"The Queen grew worse and worse, because she would be so, none about her being able to persuade her to go to bed. My Lord Admiral was sent for (who, by reason of my sister's death that was his wife, had absented himself some fortnight from court), what by fair means, what by force, he got her to bed. There was no hope of recovery, because she refused all remedies."

Was not this despair?—and was it not visible to all about the wretched Queen? And was not that which now almost immediately follows written to conceal the fact of that terrible despair from the world? Let us follow the narrative:

"About six at night she made signs for the Archbishop (Whitgift, of Canterbury) and her chaplains to come to her, at which time I went in with them and sat upon my knees, full of tears to see that heavy sight. Her Majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed and the other without. The Bishop kneeled down by her and examined her first of her faith; and she so punctually answered all

his several questions, by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all beholders. Then the good man told her plainly what she was and what she was come to, and though she had long been a great Queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of Kings. After this he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, he blest her and meant to rise and leave her. The Queen made a sign with her hand. My sister, Scroop (Lady Philadelphia), knowing her meaning, told the Bishop the Queen desired he would pray still. He did so for a long half hour after, and then thought to leave her. The second time she made sign to have him continue in prayer. He did so for half an hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with that fervency of spirit as the Queen, to all our sight, much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one had departed, all but her women that attended her.

"This that I heard with my ears and did see with my eyes, I thought it my duty to set down, and to affirm it for a truth, upon the faith of a Christian, because I know there have been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good lady."

Exalted a person as the writer of the foregoing was, in his day, his statements on the subject cannot be accepted as trustworthy. There is motive apparent in every sentence of it. He himself admits that a very different version of the last utterances of the Queen had got abroad, and he wished to offset these "false lies."

Did Elizabeth shed any tears, as Monmouth declares, to his knowledge, she did, when she heard of the death of the Scottish Queen? "She shed many tears and sighs," he wrote, "manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that Queen." She did nothing of the kind, so far as the most reliable authorities can discover. When she had signed the warrant drawn up by the Commissioners who had found Mary guilty, she was asked by Davison, to whom she had handed it back, did she intend to proceed to the execution of it or not. "Yes, by G—," was her reply, delivered with more than her usual vehemence. This is Lingard's statement of the matter, and there is no one found disputing it. After the murder was done she dissembled. She pretended anger, but not sorrow, and made a scapegoat of Davison, to whom she had sworn in that queenly way. But he was not, like her, a liar; he was a fearless, truthful bigot, and did not hesitate to defend himself and charge the Queen with duplicity and falsehood, nor to remind her of her message to Paulet, in timating that he ought to spare her the odium of signing away her victim's life by means of private assassination!

Monmouth was the messenger whom Elizabeth had selected to go to Edinburgh and inform King James of the death of his mother. In doing so she gave him a letter protesting that her murder (for such it was viewed by the Scots) was not owing to her. This was a flagrant falsehood—and Monmouth knew it to be so (he was then, not Monmouth, but Lord Hunsdon). When the nobles and people generally learned of the tragedy they were transported with rage, and Hunsdon would have been slain by them had not the poltroon, James, sent him a guard to protect him.

Monmouth's statements about Whitgift and the praying are not more reliable than his excuses for the Queen. The unknown writer of the "Annales" was in all probability right in his story of the Queen's reception of the Archbishop and the Bishop of London (the latter Monmouth does not mention at all). "Go, and bad luck with you!" James, besides being a poltroon without heart to avenge the death of his beautiful and illustrious mother, was an apostate, in the hands of the Scottish fanatics; and Monmouth, bent on securing something handsome for himself by being the first to bring tidings that brought James the Crown of England as well as that of Scotland, invented the story of the dying Queen's perseverance in Protestantism and acquiescence in his (James') succession, for his own purposes.

There is the best reason to believe that Elizabeth never concurred in the succession of James. Mrs. or Lady Southwell distinctly states that she never spoke another word after her emphatic declaration against the claim of Lord Beauchamp. But Monmouth says that when the Queen called for her council they proposed the name of the King of the Scots, and she made a sign of assent by putting her hand to her head. Orrery, who edited Monmouth's Memoir, gives little credit to such an interpretation. He says the lords of the council pretended it was a sign. It might just as well be interpreted as a sign that her head ached from their questionings.

It is a matter of no little curiosity what might have happened had not Monmouth got off to carry the tidings of the Queen's death to James. The lords of the council were quite undecided as to the situation. They took precautions that no one should leave the palace when the Queen died until they had decided what should be done, but he managed to escape by a ruse, and probably had relays of horses arranged, for he rode the whole distance to Edinburgh almost without resting till he got to Holyrood. The Council were divided on the subject of the succession. There were partisans of the King of France and of Lady Arabella Stuart among the English nobility, as well as of the King of the Scots. But Monmouth's promptitude settled the matter in favor of the latter.

When Elizabeth died she possessed, historians declare, about three thousand different gowns. She had jewels and treasure of every kind beyond counting. She had been all her life a greedy and avaricious female, besides a stingy one. Whenever she paid a visit to one of her great nobles she did not come to scatter gifts, but to take all she could get, and she usually left the house laden with costly valuables. Not long before she died the Bishop of London had the temerity to preach a sermon, deprecating the love of finery, in her presence. This enraged her so that she told her ladies that if he ever preached another on that subject she would fit him for heaven; he should walk there without his staff and leave his mantle behind him. She was a witty old lady, especially when she was dealing with Bishops who were not to her liking.

The homage which Catholics pay to the Blessed Virgin is often used as a reproach by those who are either incapable of discerning or unwilling to acknowledge its true character. They describe it as a species of idolatry, detracting from the homage due to the Creator—overlooking the fact that He sent an angel to convey to His unique creature the highest homage of heaven. The honest reader who follows Elizabeth's reign will find that monarch's parasites offering, and her accepting, tributes of praise which, if offered to the Mother of God, would almost deserve the brand of blasphemy. The flatteries of Raleigh, Drake, Essex and Cecil were truly fulsome at times. When the Queen had put Raleigh into confinement for a heinous offense against one of her own maids, he endeavored to arouse her pity by sending letters, full of passionate pleadings, to Cecil, to be shown the Queen. In these he compared her to Alexander in horsemanship, to Diana in the chase, to Venus in gait, to an angel in sweet singing. But Cecil himself could go further. In a letter to Essex concerning a prayer which the Queen had composed for the Admiral, at the time of the fleet's sailing out to meet the Spaniards, that crafty statesman, certain that the Queen would be shown it, wrote: "No prayer is so fruitful as that which proceedeth from those who nearest in nature and power approach the Almighty. None so near approach His place and essence as a celestial mind in a princely body. Put forth, therefore, my lord, with comfort and confidence, having your sails filled with her heavenly breath for your forewind." The prayer referred to is almost unintelligible to modern readers, but its dominant note is one of almost insolent familiarity with the Deity and an implied acknowledgment that the petitioner had deserved all the favors and protection of which she asked a continuance. No wonder when subjects used language fit only for divine worship that the objects of the flattery should be affected by the misdirected incense. Nor was this extraordinary

style of adulation confined to flatterers of the male sex. Women sometimes had recourse to it, to gain some great or petty end. Lady Rich, for instance, sister of the Earl of Essex, tried to regain the royal favor for her disgraced brother by eulogy of the Queen almost nauseous in its terms: "Early did I hope this morning to have mine eyes blessed with your Majesty's beauty." "Let your Majesty's divine power be no more eclypsed than your beauty, which hath shined throughout all the world; and imitate the Deity, not destroying those that trust in your mercy." The painted virago continued to receive such compliments quite as truth, believing herself beautiful and a goddess among women, until she was sixty-seven! Sometimes, however, she discovered, by accident, the real opinion of some of her flatterers. Essex, for instance (according to Raleigh), in a fit of fury, one day, after hearing of some new turn of hers, exclaimed: "Her mind is as crooked as her carcass!" That outburst of truth settled his fate, for it came to the ears of the Queen. She could forgive many things to a lover, but never such an insult as that. Essex was sent to the block very speedily afterwards.

Neither poet nor novelist ever presented the portrait of Elizabeth that truly conveyed her singular character. One requires to read a great many authorities to get a fair conception of it. Then it will be found that when the ancient poets and myth makers pictured a creature with the head and breast of a woman and the body of a lioness, and other like chimeras, they must have been inspired by prototypes of Elizabeth—women like Semiramis, full of masculine passions and the sternness and fearlessness which often accompany the sensuous and the sensual in masculine humanity. There was no trace of womanly softness about her composition, save in her coquetry with men. She cared very little for conventional restraint in such periods of playfulness and pleasure. Scott makes the episode at Kenilworth, when Dudley knelt before her in salutation the occasion for giving a glimpse of her disregard of queenly dignity. Before raising him from his humble posture, when intimation of his earldom was made to him, it was noticed, he relates, she passed her hand over his long curled hair with a caressing movement that seemed to intimate she would have done more if the time were not unfavorable. Sir James Melvil, the historian, who was an eye-witness of the occurrence, puts the scene in a much more realistic way. "I was required," he writes, "to stay until he was made Earl of Leicester, which was done at Westminster, the Queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting upon his knee (kneeling) before her with great gravity; but she could not refrain from putting her hands into his neck, smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador and I standing by. Then she turned, asking me how I liked him." Her

partiality for the favorite led her to visit a much lighter punishment than she meted out to Raleigh when she found him giving a similar cause for jealousy; she only gave him into the custody of the Earl Marshal for a quarter of an hour. But when she found that he had actually gone so far as to marry Lady Essex, her wrath was furious, and she ordered him put into genuine imprisonment. Later on, she displayed similar indifference to public opinion in her behavior toward the Duke of Anjou, until the matter became an open scandal at the court. Raleigh was hardly less conspicuous a favorite for a time ere Anjou came; and Hatton and Oxford, and Blount, as well as Simier, the Duke of Anjou's ambassador and wooer by proxy, all enjoyed the royal favor, in sight of the whole court, in succession. Her coquetries lasted long after her natural charms had vanished; they were continued with the help of artificial aids until a few months before her death. She was sixty-nine when the Duke of Nevers was sent to transact business at her court. She was so fond of dancing, even at that age, that she could not refrain from joining him in a galliard. In the Sydney papers is the following curious chronicle of the fact: "The Duke of Nevers was honorablye entertayned by her Majesty; she daunced with hym and courted hym in the best manner; he on the other side used many complementes, as kissing her hand, yea and foote when she shewed him her legge." Her jealousy was immoderate, like a woman; her violence and anger as ungovernable as any man's. She beat her waiting women, and swore at them, just like the grandee women of Pagan Rome did at their slaves and tiring women; and she boxed the ears of men, when they offended her, just as freely. These unfeminine habits were never properly utilized by the romance writers. In "Drake: An Epic," a poetical production recently presented by Alfred Noyes, her character is drawn in true heroic colors. But it is as the sublime and patriotic Queen, the savior of her country, she shines, not as the royal vixen that she in very truth was, if all the chronicles are not a vast conspiracy against her fame. If a great drama of her time were to be written for Sarah Bernhardt, the world might possibly get a better impression of what she really was in the flesh than by any other means.

When the time came that told Elizabeth that vanity had run its course, the discovery was terrible in its effects. She was stupified. She could hardly realize it. She had begun to see that she was no longer received with acclamations by the people outside, and that those about her paid her only "mouth honor, breath, which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not." Poets no longer wrote her praises; the voice of the courtly flatterer was no longer heard lisping her charms in sonnet or rondeau. Her teeth had grown black; her

face was deeply furrowed with the wrinkles of age; the "crows' feet" were at the corners of her eyes; the paint with which she used to bedaub her face and neck and breast was no longer effectual to hide the growing ugliness; the tawny hair had become whitey yellow. All this change was the work of a little more than a year or two. Its completeness seemed to have come home to her as by a flash. Then a chill despair settled down upon the greedy sensual old heart, with its still unsated demon of passion. She could not realize that her dream of vanity was over until then; and when she did at last realize it, she cared no longer for dress or titivating face or hair. She became slovenly and untidy, like any kitchen wench; and in such dishevel, and with many a fierce imprecation on her foamy shrivelled lips, she settled down to die in silence and in sullen defiance of God.

How different was the exit of her illustrious victim, the persecuted Mary Stuart! Her final mood is best exhibited in the letter she wrote to her kinsman, the Duke of Guise. Here is a translation of it as taken from Von Raumer's "History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries:"

"My Good Cousin: I bid you, whom I best love on earth, farewell, since in virtue of an unjust sentence, I am about to die, in such fashion as, God be praised, none of our family, and still less of my station, ever did before. Do you thank God, therefor, for upon this earth I was useless to His and the Church's cause; but hope that death may prove my steadfastness in the faith and my willingness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic Church in this unhappy island. And although never yet executioner dipped his hand in our blood, be not you, my friend, ashamed for this, for the judgment of heretics and Church enemies, who have no right over me, a free Queen, is honorable before God and profitable for the children of the Church. Did I belong to the former, this judgment should not light upon me. All of our house have been persecuted by that sect, as your good father, together with whom I hope to be received into mercy by the just Judge.

"I commend to you my poor servants and the payment of my debts, and entreat a pious foundation for my soul, not at your cost, but after the manner that you will hear from my disconsolate servants, the witnesses of my last tragedy. May God bless you, your wife, children, brothers and cousins, and above all, our head, my good brother and cousin, and all his. The blessing of God, and that which I would bestow upon my children, be upon yours, whom I no less commend to God than my son, the unhappy and deceived. . . .

"God give you grace to endure through life in the service of the Church. Never may this honor depart from our family, but men, like women, be ever ready (setting aside all other worldly considera-

tions) to shed their blood for the upholding of the faith. As for me, I hold myself, on father's and mother's side, born to make the offering of my blood, and I have no purpose to degenerate. Jesus, who was crucified for us, and all holy martyrs, make us by their intercession worthy freely to offer up our bodies for His honor!

"Fotheringay, Thursday, 24th Nov.

"P. S.—They have taken away my canopy, thinking to degrade me. Since then my warden came and proffered to write about it to the Queen, that having been done not by her order but upon advice of certain counsellors. I showed them on that canopy, instead of my arms, my Saviour's Cross. Since then they have been gentler.

"Your affectionate cousin and perfect friend, Mary, Queen of Scotland, Dowager Queen of France."

When Pope sang of "the pain, the bliss of dying," two such pictures as the foregoing might have made one in his unconscious spectroscope of fancy. The death of the just who die in grace and the implicit trust in God is beautiful; but, oh, how immeasurably more so the passing away of those who are privileged to lay down their lives for His sake!

But how terrible, on the other hand, is the lesson of the last hours of the impenitent. The legendary horrors ascribed to the sight of the Medusa's head would appear to have been suggested, some time in the forgotten past, by some such tortures as afflicted Elizabeth in those awful days when she sat, daring not to brave a couch of slumber again while life still held out to punish her multitudinous sins and crimes. The strong silent despair that settled on her soul was eloquent, in its dumbness, of the intolerable weight of her guilt, as the curse she flung at the Protestant clerics was of her fury at her own folly in creating them.

Many of the English sovereigns died in circumstances as piteous, in some respects. The terrible despair of Henry II. when he learned how his favorite son, John, headed the list of his revolted nobles made him curse them, and curse the hour he had been born, ere he turned his face to the wall to die. Still it did not produce absolute despair, as in the case of Elizabeth; he was penitent even in the wildest tempest of his fury. Blood-guiltiness, sins of the flesh, of pride, of cruelty, of greed and plunder were theirs in plenty, for the most part, to be confronted with at the crossing of the dread line. But she was the first to be called on to plead to the tremendous crime of wiping out a National Church. Her father had warred on that Church, no doubt, and laid violent hands on the new Ark of the Covenant; but he did not raze it and drown its foundation trenches with consecrated blood. This work he shrank from, but his heart-

less daughter, like a new Tullia spurning her father's body, as it were, did not shrink from beginning and finishing.

Little wonder she cursed the men who led her on or drove her on. Little wonder she sat speechless and shuddering as one who had seen a basilisk, as her wild eyes sought the shore line of the dread eternity toward which she was being hurried by unseen and irresistible hands. In all history there is no more profoundly saddening story of Nemesis and the justice of heaven.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

Philadelphia.

NOTRE DAME DE FOURVIERE.

IN THE year 1870 the inhabitants of the city of Lyons found themselves threatened with the horrors of a siege. The tide of war which was then devastating some of the fairest provinces of France rolled perilously near the gates of the ancient city; destruction seemed inevitable. In this hour of mortal danger the inhabitants had recourse to the Queen of Heaven, who had so often in the past extended her gracious protection to them.

On the 8th of October Monsigneur Gineulhiae, kneeling at Our Lady's altar in the old chapel at Fourvière, solemnly promised in the name of the priests and people of Lyons that if through the intercession of their great patroness the terrible danger with which they were threatened were averted, they would spare no effort to erect a new sanctuary at Fourvière, where from time immemorial a shrine of Our Lady had existed. Their prayer was heard.

On the 1st of March, 1871, the treaty of peace was signed. Neither the city nor Diocese of Lyons suffered the slightest injury from the invaders. The magnificent basilica which dominates the city testified to the powers of Mary's intercession and to her children's gratitude.

The origin of the shrine is completely lost in the mists of antiquity, and no date can be accurately assigned to its foundation. One thing is certain that from the moment when the dawn of Christianity dispelled the darkness of paganism devotion to the Mother of God has ever been a characteristic of the people of Lyons.

We read that Lyons, or Lugdunum, as it was called by the ancients, was founded in the year 43 B. C., by Munatius Plancus. So rapid was its growth that in the reign of Augustus it became the capital of the Roman province of Gaul and possessed a Senate, magistrates

and an athenæum. It was in Lugdunum that the four great roads which traversed Gaul met as in a centre. In A. D. 53 the city was destroyed in one night by fire. It was rebuilt by Nero and later it was enlarged and greatly embellished by the Emperor Trajan. In the fifth century Lyons had already become one of the chief cities of the Kingdom of Burgundy, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it rose to great wealth and importance. To escape the tyranny of the nobility in 1307, the inhabitants placed themselves under the protection of Philippe-le-Bel, who united the city to France.

The first to sow the precious seed of devotion to the Queen of Heaven, destined to produce such a rich harvest, was St. Pothinus, the first Bishop of the Gauls. It might almost be said that the precious gift was bestowed directly by St. John the Evangelist, who received Mary as his mother from the dying Saviour, for St. Polycarp, the successor to St. John in the Diocese of Smyrna, transmitted it direct to St. Pothinus.

But it was not on the heights whence the gods of pagan Rome seemed to dominate the two great rivers which joined their waters in the valley beneath that the flower of devotion to Mary was first planted. The infant church with Mary's worship must hide amongst the rushes of the marshy river banks. The summit and slopes of the hill, from Saint Just to Pierre-Seize, were covered by the proud temples and palaces of the Romans, lifting their majestic heads to heaven. St. Pothinus, seeking a place whereon to erect the standard of the Cross, passed over the abode of human greatness and grandeur and chose a lonely and unfrequented spot where, just before joining their waters, the two convergent lines of the Rhone and Saone formed a triangle, the base of which was formed by the hill known at the present time by the name of La Croix Rousse.

This was the place chosen by St. Pothinus whereon to found his Christian colony. Here, amidst the fogs and mists which enveloped those desolate marshes the first Christians of Lyons practiced their religion in lowliness and obscurity. Yonder, directly facing them, rose the eminence on which the proud Roman city was seated in regal beauty.

The humble followers of Christ crucified had the stronghold of paganism ever before them, in its power and magnificence seemingly indestructible. And yet it would seem as if some prophetic instinct had guided St. Pothinus in his choice. Before very long many causes were to combine for the removal of that centre of life and action which had its home upon the height. By degrees as Christianity triumphed the attraction of the Cross was to draw Lugdunum down into the plain and to gather round the sanctuary founded by St. Pothinus all the inhabitants of the Christian colony, just as the

temples and monuments of paganism were grouped around the forum of Trajan. Consequently one by one the glories of the pagan city would depart, whilst on the ruins of the forum Mary's sanctuary was to arise.

Thus once more was Mary Immaculate to crush the serpent's head, and from the hill of Fourvière, so long the stronghold of paganism, the Queen of Purity watches over the new Lyons nestling at her feet.

Like all the saints and like his beloved master, St. Polycarp, in particular, St. Pothinus cherished the most tender love for Our Lady and labored unceasingly to enkindle the same ardent love and devotion in the hearts of the Christians of Lugdunum.

In a bull of Pope Innocent IV. it is stated that the altar dedicated to Our Lady by St. Pothinus was the first raised in her honor on this side of the Alps. It would be impossible to doubt the evidence of a Pope so renowned for his learning and who, moreover, had such abundant opportunity during long residence in the city of becoming acquainted with the traditions of the church of Lyons.

The soil was fruitful and the Gospel of Christ spread rapidly to Lugdunum. Soon the marvelous progress of Christianity attracted notice. The Christians, warned by the storm of persecution which had burst in Rome and Smyrna, in which latter city St. Polycarp had suffered martyrdom, held themselves in readiness for the moment when they, too, would be called on to witness for Christ.

However, the danger seemed to have passed away. Not until 177, nine years after the death of St. Polycarp, did the thunderbolt fall on the Christians of Lyons. Several were at once thrown into prison. The venerable shepherd of the flock, St. Pothinus, soon shared their captivity. They were tried publicly in the forum of Trajan. A short distance from the forum, on the eastern side of the hill, rose the palace of the Cæsars. Here, in the underground dungeons of this palace, the first martyrs of Lyons were imprisoned, and here St. Pothinus, with several of his companions, succumbed to their cruel suffering. At the Hospice of Autiquaille may be seen the gloomy dungeons, now converted into a chapel, in which St. Pothinus at the age of ninety, after enduring unheard-of torture, breathed forth his soul to God.

The blood of the martyrs is ever fruitful. The religion of Christ, which was then so persecuted, has triumphed over her enemies. That palace, in the erection of which the Romans spared no expense, that magnificent abode whence issued those bloody edicts against Christ's members, what now remains of all its splendor? A reservoir and a conduit which leads from this reservoir to the aqueduct—that is all. The palace of the Cæsars has vanished from off the face of

the earth, while the dismal dungeon, in which the first Bishop of Lyons expired, remains intact. The 2d of June is regarded as the day on which the martyr Bishop received his crown.

St. Pothinus was succeeded in the See of Lyons by St. Irenaeus, who faithfully followed in the footsteps of his saintly predecessor, imitating him in his love for Mary and in his ardent zeal for the propagation of her worship. Twenty years after the death of St. Pothinus Irenaeus, too, sealed his faith with his blood. During these persecutions thousands of all ages and of both sexes laid down their lives for Christ. Christian blood flowed in torrents, consecrating for all time the hill of Fourvière. But the God of Justice avenged the death of His saints. The proud Roman city was doomed to destruction. The gorgeous temples crumbled into dust, and when the last and most famous of all—the Forum of Trajan—lay prostrate, the Chapel of Fourvière rose upon its ruins.

The little colony founded by St. Pothinus grew and prospered in the shadow of Mary's altar, which he had consecrated. The remains of this first oratory are still preserved for the veneration of the faithful in the crypt, recently restored, of the Church of St. Nizier. The pagan city, destroyed by the persecutors themselves, was destined to have a new and Christian birth in the plain at the foot of the hill which had been the seat of its pagan splendor. Septimus Severus reduced the city to a heap of ashes, after which the imperial palace was never rebuilt. In 357, and again in 413, Lyons was seized by the Germans and the Burgundians, who in the fifth century became masters of the city. In 732 the Saracens completed the work of destruction, and in 840 the remains of the majestic porticoes which had hitherto defied the efforts of the destroyers suddenly fell to the ground.

We read the following in a portion still remaining of a manuscript written by St. Benignus of Dijon: "In that year the famous monument called *Forum vetus*, built by Trajan in Lugdunum, fell in the beginning of autumn after having lasted seven hundred years." These ruins were called by the people the old forum or foro vetere, which then became Forverium, Forviel and finally in the sixteenth century the place became known as Forvière or Fourvière.

The chroniclers of Lyons agree in fixing the ninth century as the date of the construction of Our Lady's Chapel. Pieces of marble and stone belonging to the Roman buildings are still to be found in the foundations, but this early shrine was a very humble effort. A very small enclosure, an altar built into the wall facing the east and a door opening to the north, such was the simple plan of this primitive sanctuary. But, although the exact date of its origin is wrapped in obscurity, it is impossible to doubt that the shrine is of great

antiquity. Abundant proof of this is to be found in the charter of the foundation of the collegiate church written in 1192.

Our Lady of Good Counsel was the title under which Our Lady was at first honored on the hill of Fourvière. Some chaplains were appointed for the service of the altar and vines were cultivated to defray the expenses. For three centuries the shrine remained humble and unpretentious. Numerous other shrines of greater renown attracted the devotion of the people of Lyons, who in their love and gratitude multiplied Mary's altars everywhere. The most celebrated of those were the crypt of St. Pothinus Notre Dame des Graces, a l'Ile Barbe, and the basilica of Ainay, which last can boast the happy privilege of being the first place in Gaul where the Immaculate Conception was honored.

But the chapel of Fourvière was destined to emerge from its poverty and insignificance. The hill which the blood of martyrs had sanctified formed the first patrimony of the Archdiocese of Lyons, it being recorded in the archives that the Emperor Lothaire in 850 bestowed it upon the Church. In 1168 Olivier de Chavannes, canon of the Chapter of Lyons, conceived the desire of enlarging the humble oratory. Accordingly in 1160 we find him beginning to build a long nave, which was to be dedicated later to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Regarding this dedication there is an old tradition which is mentioned repeatedly in the archives of the old chapter. When St. Thomas à Becket quitted England at the command of the tyrannical Henry he took refuge in the monastery of Pontigny, of which Guichard was abbot. Shortly afterwards Guichard was raised to the See of Lyons and persuaded the exiled Archbishop to accompany him thither and to take up his abode in the cloister of St. Jean, where the chapter had generously offered him an asylum. The tradition is that à Becket and de Chavannes were one day walking together. The conversation turned on the building then in course of construction at Fourvière. The exile raised his eyes and fixed them on the hill. "Who will be the patron of the new cathedral?" he asked, turning to his hosts. "The first martyr who sheds his blood in defense of the Church," was the answer. Was it some prophetic instinct as to the fate of the illustrious guest which evoked this answer? If so, its verification was not long delayed.

Very shortly all Europe thrilled with horror to hear of the murder of the saintly Archbishop at the foot of the altar, in the very shadow of the sanctuary. The miracles worked at the martyr's tomb, the marvelous sanctity of his life, Henry's remorse and penitence, all combined to hasten the decision of the Church. In 1173 the Supreme Pontiff declared Thomas à Becket blessed.

Faithful to their promise, Guichard and Oliver dedicated the nave which was just finished to the sainted Archbishop. Our Lady of Fourvière was pleased to permit that henceforth the name of him who from infancy had been the object of her maternal care should be associated with her own sweet name—her faithful son whose last words when struck by the assassin's dagger had been: "I recommend my soul and the cause of the Church to God and to Mary."

Devotion to the martyr spread rapidly. Ex-voto offerings multiplied, amongst the first being one from Louis VII. in gratitude for the recovery of his son from a dangerous fever which had brought him to the gates of death.

Jean de Bellesme, who succeeded Archbishop Guichard, completed the work of the latter by erecting a collegiate church at Fourvière. The provost of the Chapter of St. Jean was also provost of Fourvière. On great festivals the clergy of Fourvière were always present at the ceremonies in the cathedral. In turn the chapter ascended to the sanctuary on the 29th of December to assist at the celebration of the feast of St. Thomas à Becket.

In an old charter of 1263, bearing the signature of Philip of Savoy, then Archbishop of Lyons, we find mention of innumerable rich offerings to the shrine at Fourvière. The devoted clients of Mary, in the fullness of their gratitude for her intercession, laid upon her altar the most costly offerings. Vessels of gold for the use of the sanctuary, rich stuffs, precious jewels, all were brought to Our Lady's feet.

In 1244 Pope Innocent IV. sought refuge in Lyons from the continued persecution of the Emperor Frederic. For six years the exiled Pontiff found an asylum amongst the faithful at Lyons. It was at the Council convoked by this Pope, during his stay in the latter city, that an octave was decreed to the feast of Our Lady's Nativity. By order of the Pope the feast was celebrated for the first time at Lyons with the greatest magnificence. Thus the inhabitants can claim for the ancient city the privilege of being the first place in Gaul where the feast of Mary's birth was celebrated, just as it was at the shrine of Ainay that her Immaculate Conception was first honored.

Innocent IV. in various bulls repeatedly acknowledges the generous hospitality which he received from the people of Lyons, and he testified his grateful recognition of their devoted loyalty by conferring upon them innumerable favors.

In 1336 Philippe le Bel formally confirmed the magistrates of Lyons in their office and bestowed upon them great privileges. The magistrates, whose duty it was to administer the affairs of the

city and to provide for its defense, desired by public act to acknowledge Our Lady as their suzerain and to render her their homage. One of the city gates was at Fourvière, and they gave the keys of this gate into the hands of the chapter, only reserving the right to appoint the sentinel, who from an elevated tower kept vigilant watch. It was also the duty of this sentinel to open and close the gate at Fourvière, and he it was who sounded the reveille and rang the curfew for the citizens. At 8 o'clock in the evening one of the bells at St. Jean tolled twice; then the bells of the cathedral and of St. Nizier pealed forth during a quarter of an hour, at the end of which the sentry on guard at Fourvière blew a loud blast on his trumpet; this was the signal to all that the city was closed for the night.

In the thirteenth century Lyons was a prey to the horrors of civil war. Fourvière suffered considerably from the efforts of the rival combatants to seize a place of such great strategical importance. The arrival of Pope Gregory X. in Lyons at last put a a stop to the struggle. The Pope ordered the citizens to pay seven thousand pounds to the monasteries of St. John and Fourvière in compensation for the damages inflicted during the conflict. In 1274 Gregory convoked a Council at Lyons to celebrate the reunion with the Greek Church. During this Council the holy Cardinal Bonaventure died. The sixteenth century proved a period of mourning for the Church. Heresy, led by Luther, the apostate monk, reared its hydra head in the greater part of Europe. France did not escape the pestilential invasion. Our Lady's city was too near Geneva, the very centre of religious dissension, not to be disturbed. The fanatical hatred of the so-called Reformers displayed itself in its most violent form at Lyons. In 1551 sacrilegious hands forced open the tabernacle in the church at Fourvière and carried off the Blessed Sacrament, together with the sacred vessels. This was the beginning of the abomination of desolation which swept over Lyons. In April, 1562, the Comte de Sault, Governor of the city, either through weakness or treachery, delivered the city into the hands of the Reformers. All the churches were pillaged, many of them being utterly destroyed, among the number being the ancient basilica of St. Irenaeus. The church at Fourvière was the first to be destroyed, the walls alone being left standing. The church at St. Just, which the passage of a thousand years had left uninjured, was also leveled to the ground.

In 1563, order having been restored, the exiles returned to their beloved sanctuary, or rather to the hallowed spot where it had once stood. It was a sad homecoming. All was ruin and desolation. No part of the shrine had escaped the destroyers' vengeance. Even the bells had been melted for the construction of cannons.

For ten years Fourvière was left destitute of church or chapel.

The chapter of the cathedral, which had suffered terribly at the despoilers' hands, had no means to help their brethren at Fourvière. By degrees, however, the church was roofed, the belfry restored and the altar of Our Lady reërected. The restoration of the sanctuary caused universal joy. The people flocked in daily increasing crowds to the altar of their dear patroness. As many as twenty-five Masses were said daily at the shrine, and the offerings became more numerous and costly than ever. But days of terrible calamity were in store for the people of Lyons.

In 1628 the plague, which had on several previous occasions nearly decimated the city, reappeared with more appalling violence than ever. In fifteen days ten thousand people perished. The members of the various religious orders worked with the most heroic devotion and self-sacrifice, tending the dying, burying the dead and endeavoring to calm the panic-stricken. It was calculated that three hundred persons died in the space of an hour. Prayers and supplications were offered unceasingly that God might have mercy on the stricken city. The magistrates deputed two friars to carry a silver lamp to the shrine of Loretto. It was with difficulty that the religious accomplished their pilgrimage owing to the terror inspired by their presence everywhere on their journey. At the end of eight months the awful visitation ceased. It was calculated that thirty-five thousand persons perished, including seventy-two doctors.

The mourning city turned its tear-dimmed eyes to Our Lady of Fourvière. The crowds which thronged to the shrine became so great that in 1630 another door had to be made, which was afterwards walled up when the chapel was enlarged. As late as 1838 the position of the door was plainly visible, and the inscription over the arch, "Notre Dame de Bon Conseil," could be easily deciphered.

In 1643 Lyons was again visited by the plague. This time the outbreak was even more appalling in its ravages than the preceding one. In their dire extremity the people turned once more to Our Lady of Fourvière. The magistrates of Lyons resolved in council to proceed in solemn procession to Fourvière and there by public vow consecrate their city forever to the Mother of God. The text of this resolution is still preserved in the archives at the Hotel de Ville. The solemn consecration took place on the 8th of September, 1643. Mary accepted the trust, the plague ceased and never again appeared in Lyons.

A beautiful white marble statue of Our Lady was placed on the bridge crossing the Saone, bearing on the pedestal an inscription which recorded the gratitude of the people of Lyons to their great patroness for their deliverance from the awful scourge. This statue was seriously damaged by an accident and was taken nearly two

hundred years ago to the Church of the Hotel Dieu, where it is still preserved in a niche above the altar in the rosary chapel. Another statue was erected on the Place de Change at the same time, but the stone of which it was formed was too perishable to resist the ravages of the climate, and it had to be removed.

In faithful fulfillment of the vow made in 1643, the magistrates of Lyons went every year to Fourvière. Amongst other offerings they invariably presented a gold crown piece as token of vassalage. This pious custom was continued until 1789, when the first mutterings of the awful storm of bloodshed and Godlessness so soon to burst over France was heard.

Mary proved herself the faithful liege lady of her devoted servants. Since the city was thus solemnly placed under Mary's protection no contagious epidemic has ravaged Lyons. The cholera, which scourged the greater part of France, stayed its course several times almost at the very gates of Our Lady's city. Now that the civic authorities no longer fulfill their sacred obligations two delegates from each of the thirty-six parishes of Lyons proceed to Fourvière on the 8th of September annually and kneel at Our Lady's altar while the priest pronounces in their name the ancient act of consecration.

Fourvière experienced the full force of the revolutionary storm. Sacrilegious hands despoiled the altars and carried off all the rich offerings which for centuries had been laid at the shrine by the grateful clients of the Queen of Heaven. The chapel was then closed. It seems a special intervention of heaven that the sanctuary escaped destruction at the hands of Couthon and the band of ruthless destroyers who left Lyons a heap of ruins.

The chapter having refused to take the oath imposed by the impious legislators, were obliged to seek safety in exile. M. Groboz, vicar of Sainte Croix, was peremptorily ordered to leave Lyons on the 30th of August, 1793. The good priest, unwilling to abandon the fold wherein were still to be found so many faithful souls, sought refuge on the hill of Fourvière, where he remained concealed for several months in the house of two pious ladies. During this time he celebrated daily Mass and heard confessions in the bare and desolate sanctuary. One morning two commissioners presented themselves at the shrine, their errand being to make a valuation of the sacred vessels which still remained. M. Groboz calmly finished the Mass he was just saying when thus disturbed. The emissaries of the Revolution then demanded the key of the tabernacle that they might ascertain the weight of the sacred ciborium. The priest trembled with horror. Stricken he refused to comply. No hand should touch the sacred vessel until he had first removed the Holy of Holies. One of the miscreants swore a fearful oath that they would carry

out their design without giving the priest time to effect the removal of the Blessed Sacrament. The sacrilegious wretch would have carried his threat into execution but for the intervention of his Protestant companion. M. Groboz was denounced to the Committee of Public Safety and obliged to fly.

In spite of threats and dangers dauntless pilgrims still braved all to kneel in prayer at the gates of the deserted chapel, though by doing so they ventured into the jaws of death, for the neighborhood of the shrine was carefully watched by infamous spies.

During the darkest days of the reign of terror faithful priests contrived to celebrate Mass in secret in the houses of the faithful, who joyfully opened their doors to give them shelter. Thus did pastors and people assemble in far more danger of their lives than were the early Christians in the Catacombs. More than once both priests and people paid the forfeit of their blood for their faithfulness to God.

The death of Robespierre in 1794 caused a slight lull in the storm. The chapel of Fourvière was reopened, but, alas! only to suffer fresh profanations. On the 11th of July, 1796, it was sold for £29,000 to a lady who devoted all her efforts to the establishment of the constitutional form of worship. The ancient statue of Our Lady having disappeared, another was purchased and set up in its place, while two constitutional priests were appointed to the care of the chapel. Well might the faithful regret the days when the chapel was closed and the grass grew in the deserted sanctuary. Far better so than to behold it in sacrilegious hands. But the love of Mary was too deeply rooted in the hearts of the people of Lyons to be destroyed by the fiercest persecution.

In 1799 two priests, brothers, M. M. Caille, opened a school on their own estate not far from Fourvière. The drawing room of the mansion was converted into a chapel, where Mary's faithful clients came to offer their Queen the worship which they were forbidden to offer at her ancient shrine. In 1803 Abbé Fesch, Archdeacon of Ajaccio and uncle of Napoleon, who had been appointed first consul, was consecrated Archbishop of Lyons. In 1804 Pope Pius VII. passed through Lyons on his way to Paris. He was received most enthusiastically by the faithful of Mary's city. The people seized the opportunity to plead for the restoration of their liege lady's chapel, which had, indeed, been rescued from the hands of the schismatics, but which had not been yet reopened from prudential motives. Cardinal Fesch and the clergy of Lyons were equally anxious for the restoration of Mary's sovereignty over the city. A subscription was opened. Money flowed in from all sides. The work of restoring the shrine was at once begun. To the great joy

of all the statue of Our Lady, so long missing, was found uninjured beneath a heap of ruins. Some of the former canons of Fourvière testified to its authenticity. During the days of terror a pious gardener had contrived to carry away the sacred image, which he carefully concealed, thus saving it from destruction at the hands of the demons of the Revolution and later from the profanation of schismatical worshipers.

On his return (1805) from Paris Pius VII. halted a second time at Lyons. At Cardinal Fesch's request the venerable Pontiff in person performed the ceremony of reopening the doors of the church at Fourvière, after which he celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. An inscription placed on the principal door of the church recorded the reopening of the shrine by the Sovereign Pontiff and also the numerous indulgences wherewith it was enriched. This inscription is now in the interior of the new church. Pius VII. gratefully ascribed his deliverance from captivity and his safe return to the Eternal City to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and to commemorate these favors, he instituted the feast of Our Lady Help of Christians, which is observed on the 24th of May.

During the revolution of 1830 the shrine narrowly escaped destruction from the firing of the insurgents' cannon, some parts of the church being struck by the balls, one of which penerated the wall just below the niche wherein stood Our Lady's statue. In addition to the horrors of the insurrection, Lyons was threatened with another scourge. The dreaded cholera morbus once more invaded Europe and had already attacked Paris. The second city of France trembled before the approach of the dread destroyer. Stringent sanitary measures were adopted and every precaution taken to avert the threatened danger. But it was to the holy hill of Fourvière that the people of Lyons turned their eyes, imploring of their sovereign Lady that help which she had so often accorded them in the hour of danger. A public novena was begun at the altar of Our Lady of Fourvière, at which it was calculated ten thousand persons assisted daily. Their confidence was not in vain. Once more Mary spread the ægis of her protection over her loyal subjects and the destroying angel passed by, not venturing to enter the city shielded by the Queen of Heaven.

In 1835 the pestilence reappeared, ravaging the south of France and Piedmont and advancing as fas as Valence. Again the people of Lyons poured forth their supplication at the shrine of Fourvière, and again the destroying angel sheathed his sword at the very gates of Mary's city. A marble tablet with the following inscription records the gratitude of the people:

"Lyons to Our Lady of Fourvière, in gratitude for having been

preserved from the cholera in the years MDCCCXXXII. and MDCCCXXXIV."

In 1838 the Sovereign Pontiff accorded to the church at Fourvière the same privileges as those bestowed by his predecessors upon the holy house of Loretto—a great and glorious privilege and a striking testimony to the veneration felt for the ancient shrine by the head of the Church. In 1839 the Confraternity of the Most Holy Heart of Mary was established in the church at Fourvière and was affiliated to that already existing in the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, at Paris.

In November, 1839, great inundations devastated Lyons, many houses and several bridges collapsed, and for days locomotion was only possible in boats. There was but one refuge in those days of dire calamity. The Archbishop, the priests and the people ascended to Fourvière and fervently invoked the aid of their Queen. At the intercession of Mary God's wrath was appeased. The angry floods rapidly subsided, and but two or three lives were lost. A painting which was placed in Our Lady's chapel recorded the people's gratitude. In 1848 the people solemnly renewed the consecration of their city to the Blessed Virgin.

On the 21st of November, 1848, Cardinal de Bonald, at that time Archbishop of Lyons, celebrated Mass in the Lady Chapel, and then in the presence of an enormous crowd of the faithful read aloud the act consecrating the city to Our Lady of Fourvière. In accordance with ancient custom representatives from all the parishes attended, each offering a gold piece and a wax candle. In the evening a solemn blessing was pronounced on the city from the top of the holy hill. This act of consecration is repeated annually on the 8th of September, and in the evening the Blessed Sacrament is carried outside the church and raised in solemn benediction over the city. Beneath an enormous crowd gathers on the quays, and at the moment when the appointed signal announces the raising of the Blessed Sacrament all prostrate themselves in adoration.

After twelve years' absence the cholera again appeared in France, and this time a few cases occurred in the military hospital. As before, the people had recourse to Mary, who once more came to the assistance of her subjects. The progress of the plague was stayed and no further cases occurred.

On the 8th of December, 1852, the city of Lyons celebrated by general illuminations on a scale of gradeur hitherto unprecedented the placing of Our Lady's statue in the new tower which had been built and which dominated all the buildings by which it was surrounded.

In 1870, as we have seen, danger and death once more threatened

Lyons. The horrors of war were devastating the fair land of France. Three time had a regiment of the enemy received orders to march on Lyons, and three times did the foe turn aside as if some invisible hand had stayed their march. Then it was in the hour of the most imminent danger that, as of old, the Archbishop, the priests and people gathered round the altar at Fourvière and there bound themselves by solemn vow to erect a new sanctuary if Our Lady would intercede to protect the city and Diocese of Lyons from the hands of the enemy. The gracious Queen of Heaven accepted her children's vow. The invading armies were stayed at the very gates of the city, which, as we have seen, was not once molested during the whole course of the war. The magnificent basilica which to-day dominates the city is a glorious proof of how nobly the people redeemed their vow. In all France there is no grander temple than that raised by the faithful of Lyons to the glory of God and to testify to all time their gratitude to God's Immaculate Mother for the protection so signally accorded to their city.

There is no shrine in France held in higher veneration than that of Fourvière. From all parts pilgrims turn their steps to this favored spot. The sick, the sorrowful, weary wayfarers on the thorny high road of life, fainting beneath their loads, those who are starting forth on an untried career, filled with hope, all alike go to lay their griefs, their pains, their hopes and fears at the feet of her who is the Sweet Mother of Mercy. And Mary is pleased by the wondrous favors she accords to manifest how pleasing to her is the homage which her children render to her at the ancient shrine of Fourvière.

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ST. THOMAS OF AQUIN AND THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE.

THE object of the present paper is to set before the reader a plain statement of the teaching of St. Thomas (1) concerning the nature of sacrifice and (2) concerning the relation of the Holy Mass to the Sacrifice of the Cross.

I.

It is admitted on all hands that the Angel of the Schools holds a place of preëminence among Catholic theologians. In loftiness of intellect, depth and subtlety of thought, logical cogency of reasoning,

clearness and precision of statement, he stands quite alone, at least since the days of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, the Gregories and the great Augustine. Coming after these, he absorbed their learning, and it is scarce too much to say that he shines among the lesser luminaries of his own age, and of every age since his own, like the sun among the planets which borrow from him their radiance. He has done more than any other one man to build up on enduring lines the stately superstructure of Catholic theology. Even on questions that he does not treat of professedly we can turn to him with confidence for light and guidance, so far reaching and fruitful are his principles and so rich in suggestion his remarks by the way.

St. Thomas treats of sacrifice in the *Summa,* 2a, 2ae, q. 85. It is a dictate of reason, he there observes, that man should, after the manner that befits his nature, profess his dependence upon the Supreme Being and do Him homage. Now an instinct of his nature prompts man to express his feelings by means of sensible signs, for it is from sensible things that he derives his knowledge. Hence reason itself bids him take certain of the things that belong to the world of sense and offer them to God in token of subjection and worship due, just as vassals pay tribute or render homage to their liege lords in recognition of his lordship over them. Such offering as this has the character of a sacrifice, and therefore the law of nature dictates the offering of sacrifice.[1] But the law of nature does not determine what sacrifice is to consist in, or how it is to be offered. It is custom, or positive divine enactment, that determines this.[2]

Next the saint proceeds to give precision to the notion of sacrifice. The offering of sacrifice, he says, is an act that takes its moral worth from the fact of its being done in honor of God. It is thus referred to a special virtue, religion, to wit. The acts of the other virtues, too, may be directed to the honor of God, as when one gives of his goods in alms for God's sake, or for the honor of God submits to bodily suffering; and so far forth as this they may be called sacrifices. But it is only such acts as derive their whole moral worth from their being performed in honor of God that are called sacrifices in the proper sense.[3]

The distinction here made is a very helpful one. It enables us to see that what is often quoted as St. Augustine's definition of sacrifice, "every good work done with a view of uniting us with God in holy fellowship," is not, and indeed was not meant to be, a definition at all. For such good works as almsgiving, fasting, etc., have a moral value of their own apart from their being performed for the honor

[1] Ib. a. 1, c.
[2] Ib. ad 1um.
[3] A. 3, c.

of God, and are not special acts of the virtue of religion, but of charity and penance. Sacrifice, on the other hand, is a special act of the virtue of religion, and has no moral value save such as accrues to it from the end to which it is directed. We are enabled to see, in the next place, why the distinctive note of sacrifice lies in the destruction of the thing offered. To make an offering to God of that which has worth in itself is not an act of religion, strictly speaking, but of justice, or liberality. Religion may dictate the act, but it is justice or liberality that elicits it. On the contrary, the destruction of the thing offered, while liberality may prompt or justice dictate it, is an act elicited by the virtue of religion and possesses no value or meaning save such as it has from the purpose for which it is done. Add to this that, as sacrifice symbolizes the feelings proper to man in presence of his Sovereign Lord and Judge, the distinctive note of sacrifice is to be found in that which most aptly symbolizes these feelings. Now an offering as such is the symbol of esteem or friendship. Destruction alone fittingly expresses man's sense of his own nothingness and of the extreme penalty which his sins deserve.

St. Thomas, as any one who has studied him knows, often opens his mind more fully in his answers to the objections which he is in the habit of stating against his own thesis than he does in establishing the thesis. And so in the present instance we have this bit of luminous exposition, ad 3um a. 3, q. 85, in answer to the objection that many things are offered to God, such as devotion, prayer, tithes, first fruits, gifts, and that therefore sacrifice does not appear to be the distinctive act of the virtue of religion: "Sacrifices are properly so called when something is done to the thing offered, as when animals were slain and burnt, and bread is blessed, broken and eaten. And this the word itself implies, for sacrifice gets its name from the fact that man does something sacred. On the other hand, when something is offered to God and nothing is done to it, it is called an offering simply; as money, or bread is said to be offered when placed on the altar and nothing is done to it. Hence every sacrifice is an offering, but not conversely. As for first fruits, they are offerings, in that they are handed over to God, as we read in Deut. xxvi. But they are not sacrifices, since nothing is done to them. Tithes, again, are neither sacrifices nor offerings, properly speaking, for they are not given to God directly, but to those who minister at His altars."

Here we have a clear distinction between "sacrifice" and "oblation," or "offering." Something must be done to the thing offered before it can be called a sacrifice. What it is that must be done to it is pretty plainly shown by the examples given in the text—it must be destroyed or consumed in the worship of God. But if there can be

any doubt on this score, it is set at rest by the words of the saint in the first article of the question that follows. "Everything that is handed over for the worship of God," he there says, "is known as an *offering*. When the thing so handed over has to be consumed in the sacred rite of which it is the material element, it is both an offering and a sacrifice. . . . But if it remains intact, to be employed in the worship of God, or is given over to those who serve at the altar for their own use, it is an offering, not a sacrifice."[4]

Sacrifice, then, according to St. Thomas, may be defined as a sacred rite in which the thing offered to God is consumed in token of man's total dependence upon Him and to pay Him the supreme homage that is due to Him. Immolation, not oblation, is the essential note of it. And it belongs to religion as its distinctive act, as something wholly and peculiarly its own. Religion alone gives to destruction as such a moral value and a meaning. This doctrine of sacrifice, which is the doctrine taught down to our own day in all text-books of theology, was not invented by St. Thomas, as some recent writers have alleged. He did but set it up on a philosophical foundation and formulate it more distinctly. In the light of his teaching we can see that the "offering" theory exhibits only the generic concept of sacrifice. Sacrifice in its initial stage is an offering. On the other hand, the "banquet" theory confounds sacrifice proper with the feast upon the sacrifice. In the sacrificial rite as a whole we may thus distinguish a beginning, middle and end. It begins as an offering, takes on its specific character as an immolation and ends as a banquet.

II.

St. Thomas treats only in an incidental way of the inner nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and its relation to the Sacrifice of the Cross. To eyes of faith the Mass is simply the Sacrifice of Calvary continued in the Church, renewed in mystery, and St. Thomas lived in the ages of faith. "As in the Fathers, so in the theologians of the Middle Ages," remarks an Anglican writer who made a special study of the subject, "there is no fully developed and accurately defined theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and this absence of specific definitions is found together with belief that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, that it is commemorative of the Passion and that it is offered in union with the heavenly offering of Christ. Underlying the statements of this belief was the evident conviction that there is one abiding sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, offered on the Cross in the life surrendered unto death, presented in His risen and ascended majesty by our Lord in heaven, and pleaded at the altar

[4] Q. 86, a. 1, c.

by the Church on earth in union both with the Passion and Death of our Lord and with His heavenly offering."[5] So, too, another Anglican writer builds on quoted testimonies of the Fathers his affirmation that "in the first six centuries of the Church's life the Eucharist was looked upon as a sacrifice because it renewed the Sacrifice of the Cross."[6] That St. Thomas accepted, simply and literally, this faith of the Fathers, without any attempt at a rational analysis of it, must be plain to any one who has read him carefully.

We have seen that he finds the distinctive note of sacrifice in the destruction of the thing offered. Now will anything short of real destruction satisfy the requirements of his definition, for the thing offered has to be "consumed" in the worship of God? This is the principle which he expressly lays down, and everything that he says of the Sacrifice of Christ must be read in the light of it. Conformably to this principle he makes the Sacrifice of Christ consist in His Passion and death. "It is manifest," he concludes in one place, "that the passion of Christ was a true sacrifice."[7] "Though the passion and death of Christ," he elsewhere says, "is not to be repeated, the virtue of that sacrifice, once offered, endures forever."[8] From the fact that Christ's passion is not to be repeated he infers the oneness of His Sacrifice, and quotes the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, c. x.: "By one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified."[9] That the offering in the Eucharist does not at all take from the unity of Christ's Sacrifice he plainly implies, where he says that "the sacrifice daily offered in the Church is not other than that which Christ Himself offered, but is the commemoration of it."[10] By these words he does not mean merely that the victim is the same; he is speaking of the sacrifice itself, not of the Victim. And this is put beyond the possibility of cavil by what we read in the sixth article of the same question, where he inquires, "Whether the priesthood of Christ was after the order of Melchisedec?" If he regarded the Mass as a distinct sacrifice from that of the Cross, here surely was the place for him to say so. But far from saying so, he says, at least by necessary implication, the very opposite. The passage must be given word for word:

"In the priestly office of Christ two things are to be considered, namely, Christ's Sacrifice and the participation of it. As far as regards the sacrifice itself, the priesthood of Christ was in a more

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[5] "The Holy Eucharist: an Historical Inquirer" (*The Church Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1901, p. 97).

[6] "The Eucharistic Sacrifice," by the Rev. Dr. Mortimer, p. 228.

[7] 3a, q. 48, a. 3, c.

[8] Ib. q. 22, a. 5, ad 2um.

[9] *Loc. cit.*

[10] Ib. a. 3, ad 2um.

marked way prefigured by the priesthood of the Mosaic Law, through the shedding of blood, than by the priesthood of Melchisedec, in which there was no blood-shedding. But as far as regards the participation of the sacrifice, and its effect, in which the preëminence of Christ's priesthood over that of the law is especially manifested, it was more distinctly foreshadowed by the priesthood of Melchisedec, who offered bread and wine, figuring, as St. Augustine observes, the unity of the Church, which springs from the participation of Christ's Sacrifice. *Hence also it is that in the New Law the true Sacrifice of Christ is communicated to the faithful under the forms of bread and wine.*"[11]

The meaning of this passage, of which I have italicized the last sentence, is plain. The bearing of it on the question in hand is likewise obvious. St. Thomas here teaches that the priesthood of Christ is one and the Sacrifice of Christ is one. This one priesthood and one sacrifice were foreshadowed in the foregoing time by a twofold priesthood and a twofold sacrifice. The Mosaic sacrifices foreshadowed the Sacrifice of Calvary; the Melchisedec sacrifice foreshadowed the Eucharist. But the Eucharist, viewed by itself and apart from the bloody immolation on Calvary, is not a sacrifice, but the participation of the One Sacrifice once offered. For "in the New Law the true Sacrifice of Christ is communicated to the faithful under the forms of bread and wine." This means, if words have any definite meaning at all, (1) that the Eucharist as a sacrifice is not other than "the true Sacrifice of Christ," which is the Sacrifice of the Cross, and (2) that the Eucharist reproduces and is "the true Sacrifice of Christ," else those who partake of the Eucharist would not be partaking of "the true Sacrifice of Christ."

The teaching of St. Thomas concerning the Eucharist as a sacrifice might be summed up in the words in which St. Cyprian expresses the faith of the primitive Church: "The Passion of Christ is the sacrifice that we offer." What is offered in the Mass is "the Blood of the Passion of Christ."[12] "In the consecration of the Blood mention is made of the effect of the Passion, rather than in the consecration of the Body, which is the subject of the Passion. And this is indicated by the fact that the Lord says, *which shall be delivered for you,* as if He said, *which shall be subjected to the Passion for you.*"[13] So again: "The effect (of the Eucharist) is to be reckoned by that which it represents, which is the Passion of Christ. Hence the effect which the Passion of Christ produced in the world this sacrament produces in the individual man."[14] And again: "The paschal lamb

[11] *Loc. cit.* ad 2um.
[12] Q. 78, a. 3, ad 8um.
[13] Ib. ad 2um.
[14] Q. 79, a. 1, c.

was the most striking figure of this sacrament, in regard of the Passion of Christ, which is represented by this sacrament."[15] And once more: "It may be said, in short, that the consecration of this sacrament, and the acceptance of this sacrifice, and the fruit of it, proceed from the virtue of the Cross of Christ, and therefore wherever mention is made of any of these the priest makes the sign of the cross."[16] One other passage of the *Summa* must be given at length:

"In a twofold way the celebration of this sacrament is called the immolation of Christ. It is so called, in the first place, because, as St. Augustine says to Simplicianus, 'Images are usually called by the names of those things of which they are images, as when looking at a picture or wall painting we say, This is Cicero, and this is Sallust.' Now the celebration of this sacrament, as has been said before, is a sort of image representative of the Passion of Christ, which is the true immolation of Him. Hence the celebration of this sacrament is called the immolation of Christ. Because of this St. Ambrose says, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'In Christ the sacrifice was offered once, fraught with an everlasting power to save. What, then, do we? Do not we offer sacrifice every day? Yes, but for a memorial of His death.' In another way (the celebration of this sacrament is called the immolation of Christ), so far as regards the effect of the Passion of Christ, because by this sacrament we are made partakers of the fruit of the Lord's Passion. Wherefore in a certain sacred prayer of the Mass for Sunday it is said, 'As often as the commemoration of this sacrifice is made, the work of our redemption is carried on.' So far as concerns the first way, then, it may be said that Christ was immolated even in the typical sacrifies of the Old Testament. And so it is said in the Apocalypse, *whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb, who was slain from the foundation of the world.* But so far as concerns the second way, it is peculiar to this sacrament that in the celebration of it Christ is immolated."[17]

It will be observed that the saint here speaks of the "immolation," not of the "offering" of Christ, and this, as it would appear, for two reasons; first, because with him immolation, not offering, is the essential note of sacrifice; secondly, because the offering of Christ in the Eucharist can be in no way doubtful, assuming the Real Presence, whereas the immolation of Him is not obvious and might even be open to question. To ask whether Christ is immolated in the Eucharist is to ask whether He is offered in sacrifice there. And

[15] Q. 80, a. 10, ad 2um.
[16] Q. 83, a. 5, ad 3um.
[17] Ib. a. 1, c.

the answer of the saint is, Yes, in a twofold way; first, in that the Mass is a symbolic representation of the Sacrifice of Calvary, and secondly, in that the Mass applies to men the fruit of Christ's Passion, and so carries on the work of our redemption. Thus it is the real immolation of Christ that makes the Mass the distinctive Sacrifice of the New Law, for there was a mystical immolation of Him in the sacrifices of the Old Law as well. But the real immolation of Him took place on Calvary, and Christ having risen from the dead, dieth no more. Therefore it is the bloody immolation on the Cross, of which the sacrificial efficacy is everlasting, that is still operative in the Mass and makes the Mass a real sacrifice. Hence the Mass, not being really other than the Sacrifice of the Cross, has no sacrifical fruits of its own, and does but apply to men the fruits of the sacrifice once offered on Calvary. One has but to glance at the decree of the Council of Trent, sess. 22, to see how closely the Tridentine Fathers followed this teaching of St. Thomas concerning the Holy Mass.

In his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews the saint insists upon the oneness of the Sacrifice of the New Law, and declares expressly that the Mass is one with the Sacrifice of the Cross. On c. 9, v. 23 he writes: "In like manner the Apostle says *with sacrifices,* in the plural number. On the contrary, the Sacrifice of Christ is but one, for *by one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified* (c. 10, v. 14). I answer, Though it is one in itself, it was foreshadowed in the Old Law by many sacrifices." Again, v. 26, he identifies the Sacrifice of the New Law with the Sacrifice of Calvary: "First the Apostle gives two reasons why the sacrifice is not repeated in the New Law; then he explains them, *And as it is appointed unto men once to die . . . so Christ was offered once.* He says, then: *But now once at the end of the ages He hath appeared to take away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.*" Once more, on c. 10, v. 1, he comments as follows:

"Hence in c. 9, v. 12 the Apostle, discoursing on the efficacy of the Sacrifice of Christ, attributes to it everlasting efficacy, saying, *having obtained eternal redemption.* Now that which has everlasting efficacy suffices to take away all sin, future as well as past; and therefore is not to be repeated. Hence Christ by one sacrifice cleansed forever them that are sanctified, as will presently be said. And if it be objected to this that we offer daily, I reply that we do not offer other than that which Christ offered for us, His Blood, to wit. Hence ours is not another sacrifice, but is the commemoration of that sacrifice which Christ offered, as we read in Luke, xxii., 19: 'This do for a commemoration of Me.'"

One other point must be touched on which reveals under another

form the persuasion of St. Thomas that the Mass is not a distinct sacrifice from that of Calvary, but the self-same. It is the prominence which he gives to an aspect of the Eucharist that has become greatly obscured since the sixteenth century. "The Eucharist," he says, "is the perfect Sacrament of the Lord's Passion, containing as it does Christ who suffered (*Christum passum*)."[18] Again, "Christ who suffered is contained in this sacrament."[19] The words have been already cited in which he speaks of it as "the participation of the Sacrifice of Christ," and says that "the true Sacrifice of Christ," *i. e.*, the Sacrifice of the Cross, "is communicated to the faithful under the forms of bread and wine." The Mass, therefore, reproduces the Sacrifice of Christ on Calvary under the appearances of bread and wine in order that the faithful may partake of it. This aspect of the Eucharist St. Paul also sets in clear relief where he says: "The chalice of benediction, which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? And the bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the Body of the Lord? . . . Behold Israel according to the flesh; are not they that eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar? . . . You cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils." (I. Cor. viii., 16-21.) The same is presented by St. Augustine, too, in a striking way when he says of his mother that she "never for one day absented herself from the altar, whence she knew that victim to be dispensed by which the handwriting that was against us is blotted out;"[20] and no less strikingly by St. Chrysostom: "Hence (from the wounded heart of Christ on the Cross) the mysteries have their origin; so that you should draw near the wondrous cup as if you were going to drink from the Saviour's opened side."[21]

The Victim of the Eucharist is thus the Victim of Calvary, not the victim of some other sacrifice. How, indeed, where Priest and Victim are numerically one, can there be two sacrifices? And surely this is a great and consoling fact, to be deeply pondered and to be duly thankful for and to be preached in season and out of season, that God's gift to us in the Eucharist is no other than the Victim by which the handwriting that was against us is blotted out.

"I can imagine nothing that speaks to one's life's need more than the conception of being associated with the perpetual pleading of the eternal sacrifice; it is there that the importance of the Eucharist comes in. In the Eucharist we have the assurance of the divinely appointed pledge and symbol of being identified with the eternal

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[18] 3a q. 73, a. 5, ad 2um.
[19] Q. 74, a. 6, c.
[20] "Confessions," c. 9.
[21] Hom. 84, in cap. 19 Joannis.

Sacrifice of the Lamb of God. And so I cannot conceive of it as being a mere commemorative rite. It is in some mysterious sense a real sharing of the Body and Blood of a living Christ, who is the eternally perfect Sacrifice."—Rev. C. G. Lang (Anglican) at the Fulham "Round Table" Conference.

ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

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WITHIN THE PENUMBRA OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE SINCE THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Johannes Janssen.* Translated by A. M. Christie. Vols. IX. and X. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. Price of both volumes, $6.25 net.

THESE two volumes, representing volume fifth of the original German edition, bring down the great history of Janssen to the goal which he had set himself., viz., the opening of the Thirty Years' War. The remaining three volumes are devoted to the study of the social conditions of Germany during the century following the Lutheran insurrection. For the first time, therefore, the English-speaking public have now at hand a thoroughly reliable history of this most important epoch, written dispassionately by a master hand. Nothing now remains except to see to it that Janssen's History be placed in every public library throughout the land. This must be demanded in the interest of historical truth and fair play. Any one who is familiar with the German historical literature of the past thirty years knows how powerfully, if gradually and silently, Janssen's work has influenced and enlightened Protestant public opinion in the Fatherland as to the true nature of the so-called Reformation.

The translation of a work like Janssen's, swarming as it does with long quotations of sixteenth century writings and documents, is by no means an easy task, and requires an intimate acquaintance not only with the language, but also with the religious, political and social conditions of that age. We cannot, therefore, be surprised if at times the talented translator fell short of that ideal perfection which we could have wished to find in a strictly scientific work. But we deem it our duty to testify that, as a general rule, Miss Christie has acquitted herself of her difficult task in a way that challenges our admiration. We regret that a contrary impression has gone abroad, and we can assure our readers that, with solitary exceptions here and there, they will find in this rendition Janssen's thought put accurately

into elegant English. A close scrutiny of both volumes has revealed very few additions to be made to the list of *Errata* which stands at the beginning of each. For the benefit of the publishers in future editions, we shall insert them here:

In Volume IX.—Page 66, line 88, *for* with, *read* against; page 83, *read* the Palatinate and Bavaria; page 133, line 22, *for* Teutonic Order *read* their German brothers; page 138, line 4, *for* wise, *read* wrong; page 183, line 6, *for* his, *read* its or their; page 244, line 12, *for* to the Turks, *read* against the Turks; page 284, line 21, *for* Turkish soldiers *read* Turkish money; page 342, line 12, *read* Father John Chrysostom; page 342, note 3, *read* spoke to; page 468, line 22, *for* shelter *read* shatter; page 485, line 5, *for* Count *read* Elector; page 517, line 17, *for* Count *read* Elector; page 520, note *for* Count Palatine *read* the Palatine Electorate.*

In Volume X. add the following corrections: Page 268, line 20, *for* second Easter day *read* Easter Monday; page 362, line 2, *for* Juan *read* Carlos; page 398, line 6, *for* impute *read* dedicate; page 406, line 5 from below, *for* Grau *read* Gran; page 428, line 12, *for* Count Palatine *read* the Palatinate; page 422, line 3, *for* work of justice *read* Aulic Council; page 470, last line, *for* Count *read* Elector; same correction next page; page 512, line 11, *for* Electors *read* Archdukes; page 535, line 5 from end, *for* the Estates, etc., *read* from the Estates was, etc.; page 541, line 6, *for* uninformed *read* informed; page 589, line 6, *for* of *read* for; page 624, line 7, *for* electors *read* Catholic electors.

The period dealt with by the historian in these volumes extends from the proclamation of the Formula of Concord, in 1580, to the formal opening of the disastrous Thirty Years' War in 1618. The "Religious Peace" patched up at the Diet of Augsburg in 1555 had permanently divided Germany into two hostile religious camps, with nothing in common except the shadowy authority of the Emperor; the attempt of the Lutheran princes to establish German Protestantism on the basis of strict Lutheran tenets served but to emphasize the fact that a third religion, Calvinism, bitterly hostile alike to Catholicism and to Lutheranism, had to be reckoned with. The internecine quarrel between these two main factions of Protestantism, which became ever more bitter as time went on, was a providential blessing to the true Church, and at more than one critical moment saved German Catholicity from complete extinction. From the time when Luther, dismayed by the excesses of the insurgent peasantry,

* All the cadets of the Palatine House were styled Counts Palatine. The head of the house was the Elector Palatine. Janssen, of course, kept this distinction steadily in view. The failure to do so in this translation more than once obscures the sense.

had placed the leadership of his revolutionary movement in the hands of the secular princes, constituting each petty lord the supreme master of the consciences of his subjects, Lutheranism had subsided into a loose alliance of territorial churches. "Theologians" might rave and wrangle; but the people were held in check by the strong hand of the temporal prince. No affectation of religious tolerance was made by these numerous Pontifices Maximi. To those of their subjects who refused to accept their interpretation of the "word of God," nothing was left but the boon of selling out their property at a sacrifice and migrating to other climes. The Germans of the sixteenth century were not a migratory race; hence, we are not surprised that the vast majority preferred to remain at home, passively acquiescing in the shifting religious dogmas of their official teachers. So thoroughly had the Catholic religion been rooted out, that in a generation or two nothing further was known about Popery by the mass of German Lutherans than that it had once existed as an idolatrous and blasphemous form of worship, but now, thanks to the light of the "gospel," was as extinct as the ancient heathenism of their forefathers. The very completeness of the extirpation of Catholicity in the Lutheran principalities was a pledge of peace between the Lutheran and the Catholic sections of the Fatherland. The Lutheran princes, gorged with the confiscated wealth of the churches and monasteries within their domains, and slightly interested in the spiritual concerns of religion, rested like sated lions in their dens and manifested no great interest in the religious turmoil of other territories. They had been taught a valuable lesson in prudence on the field of Mühlberg, and since that turning point had all but abandoned any serious effort at propagating the "gospel" by force of arms. To the present day Lutheranism remains as the local religion of certain German and Scandinavian territories, known to outsiders only through their colonists. Left to themselves without extraneous disturbing influences, Catholicism and Lutheranism would have gone on peacefully enough, dividing the Fatherland on the confessional and territorial lines marked out in the Religious Peace of Augsburg.

This "bear's truce" between the two recognized confessions was rudely disturbed by the injection of a new element of discord imported from foreign parts and destined to plunge the ill-fated nation into the horrors of a thirty years' war. That form of Protestantism which first appeared in crude shape in Switzerland and was called Zwinglianism, but was later refined by Calvin and identified with his name, was, whether we view it from a doctrinal or a political standpoint, essentially subversive both of Lutheranism and of Catholicism. It would be a great mistake to fancy that Lutheranism and Calvinism differed only on the question of the Real Presence in the Eucharist.

The cleavage was deeper and more radical. Luther had drifted into heresy gradually and, one might say, almost unconsciously. He had retained as many of the venerable rites and traditions of the ancient Church as could be at all considered compatible with his novel theory of justification by faith alone. Where changes were made they were accomplished in so insidious a manner that the Reformer in a famous passage could boast that the eye of the ordinary layman could perceive little or no difference between the Lutheran service and the Catholic Mass. As a consequence of this perfidious manœuvre, the German populace were defrauded of their ancestral religion without comprehending the enormity of the change which had taken place. Quite different was the case with Zwinglianism and Calvinism, which invariably began with wild iconoclastic riots, in which every vestige of Catholic worship was ruthlessly annihilated. Here there was no hypocritical pretense of continuity between the new and the old; no idiot could become a Calvinist without feeling that he was formally abjuring the religion of his fathers as the very incarnation of blasphemy. Equally marked was the contrast between Lutheranism and Calvinism, viewed from the standpoint of politics. Whilst the Lutheran tendency was to settle down in orderly territorial Churchism, little concerned with happenings beyond the boundaries of the petty principality which housed it, Calvinism everywhere took on the character of an active international propaganda, similar to Mohammedanism, to which it was frequently compared, or to the Nihilism of our own days. A religion so gloomy in its dogmas and in its political principles so radically subversive of existing order was extremely repulsive to the extincts of a people so fond of cheer and at the same time so conservative as the German. Calvinism in the Empire was mainly the importation of French and Dutch exiles and was banned equally with Anabaptism, Socinianism and other despised sects. It is very unlikely that it would have played a prominent part in German history were it not for the pernicious energy of the Palatine House. The religious vagaries in the Rhenish Palatinate form an instructive commentary on the depth and sincerity of the Protestant Reformation. It was forcibly Lutheranized by the Elector Otto Henry (1566-1569); still more brutally Calvinized by his successor and cousin, Frederick III. (1569-1576); again Lutheranized by Frederick's son, Louis V. (1576-1583); once more Calvinized by John Casimir, Regent for Louis' child, Frederick IV.

The conversion to Calvinism of Frederick III. was an event fraught with disastrous consequences to the German Empire. In the person of this Electoral Prince not only did the German Calvinists receive a leader after their own heart, a man whose whole life was devoted to the total annihilation of the last relics of "Popish

idolatry," but, moreover, owing to the geographical position of the Palatinate, the Huguenots of France and the insurgents in the Netherlands were now assured of a powerful protector and of a safe refuge in case of distress. In contrast to the Lutherans the international revolutionists were held together by the sense of a common danger and by the very fact that their religion of negation had retained so few dogmas worth quarreling about. Frederick's Heidelberg Catechism was generally accepted, even outside his domains, as a satisfactory exposition of Calvinist faith. With no patriotic scruples to worry him, Frederick was free to enter into any sort of foreign alliance which seemed best calculated to attain his end of establishing "the Gospel" on the ruins of Popery and of its chief support in Germany, the House of Hapsburg.

The spectacle of a downright Calvinist seated on the most venerable electoral throne of the Empire and crushing out Lutheranism as well as Popery within his dominions with an iron heel, was viewed by the Lutheran princes with disgust and dismay, and dire threats of ban and deposition were launched against the recalcitrant elector. But when, in a Diet at Augsburg, 1566, the Emperor Maximilian II. made an effort to carry these threats into effect, the Protestant estates, after a futile attempt to convert or cow the elector, unanimously resolved that "they would not agree to a general condemnation of those persons, whether in German or in foreign lands, who were at variance with them respecting some few articles, even though they should be forced to allow that the said persons were themselves Calvinists or had Calvinist teachers in their employment. . . . To help in the extension of the Papacy was by no means their wish or intention." This (Janssen, Vol. VII., page 374, English edition) decision practically established the principle that Calvinists could be considered *bona fide* Augsburg Confessionists and, consequently, sheltered under the terms of the Religious Peace. In other words, men who proclaimed it the highest duty of Christian princes to root out "Popish idolatry" wherever found, and who regarded all compromises with Popery as virtual acts of apostasy from the Gospel, were permitted to claim the protection of a document which guaranteed to Catholic and Protestant princes an equal right to dictate the religion of their subjects. The first great stride towards the Thirty Years' War was thus made. From this time forward, until the great-grandson of Frederick III., the Elector Frederick V., paid the full penalty, by loss of domains and dignity, of the hereditary Palatine intrigues, the Heidelberg Court remained the focus of all the revolutionary movements in Germany, France and the Netherlands. Here, with the aid of Queen Elizabeth's gold, were levied those savage German hordes which, under the leadership of Fred-

erick's favorite son, John Casimir, spread devastation through the fair fields of France. Frederick fomented the troubles in the Netherlands, "supported the Prince of Orange with enormous sums of money," and opened (Janssen, Vol VIII., 61) an asylum in his territories to fugitives of all countries. It was Frederick who first conceived the plan of a gigantic "league against the Papists for the protection of the evangelical faith," to be formed by England, Denmark, Sweden and the Protestant Estates of the Empire. This daring project, rejected at the time by the conservatism of Saxony and Brandenburg, was destined to become a disastrous reality later on, assuming, through the "statesmanship" of Richelieu and the genius of Gustavus Adolphus, proportions far beyond the anticipations of the Palatine Elector.

Germany was not ripe for a religious war in the days of Frederick III. Though the imperial authority was reduced to a shadow; though the judicial machinery of the Empire was out of gear; though the Diets invariably broke up in disorder; though sectarian bitterness grew from day to day, still there was enough of the "alte Ehrenhaftigkeit" left in the nation to prevent a general outbreak of hostilities for above a generation; and it is curious to remark that the spark which finally lighted up the Thirty Years' War was fired, not in Germany, but in Bohemia.

The "Cologne War" (1582-1584) seemed to possess all the qualifications needed to set all Germany on fire. Gebhard Truchsess, the unworthy nephew of Cardinal Otto of Augsburg, had been elected Archbishop of Cologne in 1577, notwithstanding his loose morals. He was living in concubinage with the Countess Agnes of Mansfeld, and when forced by her brothers to promise to marry her, announced his determination to resign his see. This, however, did not suit the views of the Protestant "party of action," which was desirous of making a further breach in the Peace of Augsburg. By the terms of that treaty any ecclesiastical prince who apostatized from the Catholic Church, *ipso facto* resigned all the spiritual and temporal privileges of his benefice. Since many of the Bishops and Abbots held extensive territories as fiefs of the Empire and were empowered to prevent the propagation of Protestantism within their jurisdiction, this so-called *reservatum ecclesiasticum* was viewed by the sectarians as an intolerable grievance, which they made unremittent efforts to remove. The defection of Gebhard was particularly opportune for their cause, not merely on account of the importance of Cologne and the large extent of the Westphalian territories of the see, but still more because the substitution of a Protestant for a Catholic vote in the Electoral College would secure the election of a Protestant Emperor. Gebhard was, therefore, persuaded to take ad-

vantage of his "Christian liberty" by marrying his concubine whilst retaining his see. The Protestants were unanimous in applauding his decision; but here, fortunately for the Catholic cause and the peace of Germany, their unanimity ended. Deprived of his bishopric and excommunicated by the Pope, deposed from his temporal dignities by the Diet of his province, Gebhard was obliged to look around for outside support. Here he met the formidable difficulty of deciding whether he should become a Lutheran or a Calvinist. In the first case he could claim no aid from the Lutheran princes; in the second he would have to forfeit the aid and sympathy of the Palatine House, the Dutch insurgents and the French Huguenots. After a long course of duplicity, he threw in his lot with the Calvinists. The Cologne chapter gained the aid of Bavaria by electing Ernest, a prince of the House of Wittelsbach, as Elector. Days of gloom and devastation followed for the territory of Cologne and Westphalia, but in the end the Catholics triumphed and the opportunity of abolishing the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* on the field of battle was lost. It continued, however, to disturb the quiet of the nation at the imperial Diets and episcopal elections. In Catholic days the bishoprics, canonries and rich abbacies had furnished comfortable livings for the cadets of the princely houses, and it seemed to the Protestant princes a grievance beyond endurance and a public slight and humiliation that this easy method of providing for their offspring should now be closed to them. In the Protestantized North they evaded the difficulty by having their sons elected as "Administrators," and this was a fresh apple of discord, since the Emperor and the Catholic Estates refused to these "Administrators" seats and votes in the Diets. But there still remained vast territories in the Empire, such as the three electoral domains of Mainz, Cologne and Trier, the bishoprics of Würzburg, Spires and Augsburg and the great abbacy of Fulda, in the hands of spiritual princes, who were as defenseless as kittens if some bold hand would strike the blow. In the abnormal conditions of the Empire it is most remarkable and accrues greatly to the credit of the German character that a full century elapsed from the first appeal of Luther to the nobles of Germany to wipe out Popery in blood until actual recourse was made to arms. Even then the war was an accident, and mainly attributable to the greed of that *bête noir* of those times, the Palatine House.

For a detailed, lucid and impartial exposition of the events which led up to the Thirty Years' War, we refer the reader to Janssen.

J. F. Loughlin.

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE FRENCH BISHOPS, CLERGY AND PEOPLE.*

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X. AD ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS UNIVERSUMQUE CLERUM ET POPULUM GALLIAE.

DILECTIS FILIIS NOSTRIS FRANCISCO MARIAE S. R. E. PRESB. CARD. RICHARD ARCHIEPISCOPO PARISIENSI, VICTORI LVCIANO S. R. E. PRESB. CARD. LECOT ARCHIEPISCOPO BVRDIGALENSI, PETRO HECTORI S. R. E. PRESB. CARDIN. COVLLIE ARCHIEPISCOPO LVGDVNENSI, IOSEPHO GVILELMO S. R. E. PRESB. CARD. LABOVRE ARCHIEPISCOPO RHEDONENSI, CETERISQVE VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBVS ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS ATQVE VNIVERSO CLERO ET POPVLO GALLIAE.

PIVS PAPA X.

Venerabiles Fratres et Dilecti Filli, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

VEHEMENTER Nos esse sollicitos et praecipuo quodam dolore angi rerum vestrarum causa, vix attinet dicere; quando ea perlata lex est, quae quum pervetustam civitatis vestrae cum Apostolica Sede necessitudinem violenter dirimit, tum vero indignam miserrimamque Ecclesiae in Gallia conditionem importat. Gravissimum sane facinus, idemque, ob ea quae civili societati allaturum est aeque ac religioni detrimenta, omnibus bonis deplorandum. Quod tamen nemini arbitramur inopinatum accidisse, qui quidem postremis temporibus, quemadmodum sese adversus Ecclesiam rei publicae moderatores gererent, attenderit. Vobis certe nec subitum accidit nec novum, Venerabiles Fratres, quibus ipsis testibus, christiana instituta plagas tam multas tamque magnas, alias ex aliis, accepere publice. Vidistis violatam legibus christiani sanctitudinem ac stabilitatem coniugii; dimotam de scholis de valetudinariis publicis religionem; abstractos a sacra studiorum et virtutum disciplina clericos et sub arma compulsos; disiectas spoliatasque bonis religiosas Familias, earumque sodales ad inopiam plerumque redactos rerum omnium. Illa etiam decreta nostis: ut aboleretur consuetudo vetus vel auspicandi, propritiato Deo legumlatorum ac iudicum coetus, vel ob memoriam mortis Christi lugubria induendi navibus; ut sacramentis in iure dicendis forma speciesque abrogaretur religiosae rei;

* For the English translation, see AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for April, 1906.

ut in iudiciis, in gymnasiis, in terrestribus maritimisque copiis, in rebus denique omnibus ditionis publicae, ne quid esset aut fieret, quod significationem aliquam christianae professionis daret. Iamvero ista quidem et id genus cetera, quum ab Ecclesia sensim rem publicam seiungerent, nihil fuisse aliud apparet, nisi gradus quosdam consulto iactos ad plenum discidium lege propria inducendum: id quod ipsi harum rerum auctores profiteri plus semel et prae se ferre non dubitarunt. Huic tanto malo ut occurreret Apostolica Sedes, quanto in se habuit facultatis, totum eo contulit. Nam ex una parte admonere atque hortari gubernatores Galliae non destitit, etiam atque etiam considerarent, hunc quem instituissent discessionis cursum, quanta esset incommodorum consecutura moles; ex altera autem suae in Galliam indulgentiae benevolentiaeque singularis illustria duplicavit documenta; non absurde confisa, se ita posse, qui praeerant, tamquam iniecto officii gratiaeque vinculo, retinere in declivi, atque ab incoeptis demum abducere. At huiusmodi studia, officia, conata et Decessoris et Nostra recidisse ad nihilum omnia cernimus; siquidem inimica religioni vis, quod contra iura catholicae gentis vestrae ac vota recte sentientium diu contenderat expugnavit. Hoc igitur tam gravi Ecclesiae tempore, ut conscientia Nos officii sanctissimi iubet, Apostolicam vocem tollimus, et mentem animumque Nostrum vobis, Venerabiles Fratres et dilecti Filii, patefacimus: quos quidem universos omnes semper consuevimus peculiari quadam caritate prosequi, nunc vero, uti par est, eo vel amantius complectimur.

Civitatis rationes a rationibus Ecclesiae segregari oportere, profecto falsissima, maximeque perniciosa sententia est. Primum enim, quum hoc nitatur fundamento, religionem nullo pacto debere civitati esse curae, magnam infert iuiuriam Deo: qui ipse humanae societatis non minus quam hominum singulorum conditor et conservator est; proptereaque non privatim tantummodo colatur necesse est, sed etiam publice. Deinde, quidquam esse supra naturam, non obscure negat. Etenim actionem civitatis sola vitae mortalis prosperitate metitur, in qua consistit causa proxima civilis societatis; causam ultimam civium, quae est sempiterna beatitudo extra hanc brevitatem vitate hominibus proposita, tamquam alienam reipublicae, plane negligit. Quod contra, ad adeptionem summi illius absolutique boni, ut hic totus est fluxarum rerum ordo dispositus, ita verum est rempublicam non modo non obesse, sed prodesse oportere. Praeterea descriptionem pervertit rerum humanarum a Deo sapientissime constitutam, quae profecto utriusque societatis, religiosae et civilis, concordiam requirit. Nam, quoniam ambae, tametsi in suo quaeque genere, in eosdem tamen imperium exercent, necessitate fit, ut causae inter eas saepe existant eiusmodi, quarum cognitio et diiudicatio utriusque sit.

Iamvero, nisi civitas cum Ecclesia cohaereat, facile ex illis ipsis causis concertationum oritura sunt semina, utrinque acerbissimarum; quae iudicium veri, magna cum animorum anxietate, perturbent. Postremo maximum importat ipsi societati civili detrimentum; haec enim florere aut stare diu, posthabita religione, quae summa dux ac magistra adest homini ad iura et officia sancte custodienda, non potest.

Itaque Romani Pontifices huiusmodi refellere atque improbare opiniones, quae ad dissociandam ab Ecclesia rem publicam pertinerent, quoties res tempusque tulit, non destiterunt. Nominatim Decessor illustris, Leo XIII., pluries magnificeque exposuit, quanta deberet esse, secundum christianae principia sapientiae, alterius societatis convenientia cum altera: inter quas: "quaedam, ait, intercedat necesse est ordinata colligatio, quae quidem coniunctioni non immerito comparatur, per quam anima et corpus in homine copulantur." Addit autem: "Civitates non possunt, citra scelus, gerere se tamquam si Deus omnino non esset, aut curam religionis velut alienam nihilque profuturam abiicere. . . . Ecclesiam vero, quam Deus ipse constituit, ab actione vitate excludere, a legibus, ab institutione adolescentium, a societate domestica, magnus et perniciosus est error."[1]

Iamvero si contra omne ius fasque agat quaevis christiana civitas, quae Ecclesiam ab se segreget ac removeat, quam non est probandum, egisse hoc ipsum Galliam, quod sibi minime omnium licuit! Galliam dicimus, quam longo saeculorum spatio haec Apostolica Sedes praecipuo quodam ac singulari semper amore dilexerit; Galliam, cuius fortuna omnis et amplitudo nominis et gloriae religioni humanitatique christianae cognata semper fuerit! Apte idem Pontifex: "Illud Gallia meminerit, quae sibi cum Apostolica Sede sit, Dei providentis numine, coniunctio, actiorem esse vetustioremque, quam ut unquam audeat dissolvere. Inde enim verissimae quaeque laudes, atque honestissima decora profecta. . . . Hanc velle turbari necessitudinem idem foret sane, ac velle de auctoritate gratiaque nationis Gallicae in populis non parum detrahi."[2]

Accedit autem quod haec ipsa summae necessitudinis vincula eo sanctiora iubebat esse sollemnis pactorum fides. Nempe Apostolicam Sedem inter et Rempublicam Gallicam conventio eiusmodi intercesserat, cuius ultro et citro constaret obligatio; cuiusmodi eae plane sunt, quae inter civitates legitime contrahi consueverunt. Quare et Romanus Pontifex et rei Gallicae moderator se et suos quisque successores sponsione obstrinxere, in iis quae pacta essent, constanter permansuros. Consequebatur igitur, ut ista pactio eodem iure, ac ceterae quae inter civitates fiunt, regeretur, hoc est, iure gentium;

[1] Epist. Enc. *Immoriale Dei*, date de 1 Nov., au. MDCCCLXXXV.

[2] In alloc, ad peregr. Gallos, hab. die xiii. apr., an. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

ideoque dissolvi ab alterutro dumtaxat eorum qui pepigerant, nequaquam posset. Apostolicam autem Sedem summa semper fide conditionibus stetisse, omnique tempore postulasse, ut fide pari staret eisdem civitas, nemo prudens suique iudicii homo negaverit. Ecce autem Respublica pactionem adeo sollemnem et legitimam suo tantum aribitrio rescindit; violandaque religione pactorum, nihil quidquam pensi habet, dum sese ab Ecclesiae complexu amicitiaque expediat, et insignem Apostolicae Sedi iniuriam imponere, et ius gentium frangere, et ipsam commovere graviter disciplinam socialem et politicam; siquidem nihil tam interest humani convictus et societatis ad secure explicandas rationes popolorum mutuas, quam ut pacta publica sanctae inviolateque serventur.

Ad magnitudinem autem iniuriae, quam Apostolica Sedes accepit, accessionem non mediocrem factam esse liquet, si modus inspiciatur, quo modo Respublica pactum resolvit. Est hoc ratum similiter iure gentium atque in moribus positum institutisque civilibus, ut non ante liceat conventa inter civitates solvi, quam pars altera, quae hoc velit, alteri se id velle clare aperteque ipsi legitime denuntiarit. Iamvero hic voluntatis huiusmodi apud Apostolicam ipsam Sedem legitima, non modo denuntiatio, sed ne ulla quidem significatio intercessit. Ita non dubitarunt gubernatores Galliae adversus Apostolicam Sedem communia urbanitatis officia deserere, quae vel minimae cuique minimique momenti civitati praestari solent; neque iidem veriti sunt, quum nationis catholicae personam gererent, Pontificis, summi Ecclesiae catholicae Capitis, dignitatem potestatemque contemnere; quae quidem potestas eo maiorem ab iis verecundiam, quam civilis ulla potestas postulabat, quod aeterna animarum bona spectat, neque ullis locorum finibus circumscribitur.

Sed iam ipsam in se legem considerantibus, quae modo promulgata est, novae Nobis multoque gravioris querelae nascitur causa. Principio Respublica quum revulsis pactionis vinculis ab Ecclesia discederet, consequens omnino erat, ut eam quoque missam faceret et concessa iure communi frui libertate sineret. At nihil minus factum est: nam plura hic videmus esse constituta, quae, odiosum privilegium Ecclesiae irrogando, eam civili imperio subesse cogant. Nos vero cum graviter molesteque ferimus, quod hisce sanctionibus civilis potestas in eas res invasit, quarum iudicium et aribtrium unius est sacrae potestatis; tum etiam eoque magis dolemus, quod eadem, aequitatis iustitiaeque oblita, Ecclesiam Gallicam in conditionem ac fortunam coniecit duram incommodamque maxime, atque eam sacrosanctis ipsius iuribus adversissimam.

Nam primum huius decreta legis constitutionem ipsam offendunt, qua Christus Ecclesiam conformavit. Scriptura enim eloquitur et tradita a Patribus doctrina confirmat, Ecclesiam mysticum esse

Christi corpus *pastorum* et *doctorum* autoritate administratum;[3] id est societatem hominum in qua aliqui praesunt ceteris cum plena perfectaque regendi, docendi, iudicandi potestate.[4] Est igitur haec societas, vi et natura sua, *inaequalis;* duplicem scilicet complectitur personarum ordinem, pastores et gregem, id est eos, qui in variis hierarchiae gradibus collocati sunt et multitudinem fidelium: atque hi ordines ita sunt inter se distincti, ut in sola hierarchia ius atque auctoritas resideat movendi ac dirigendi consociatos ad propositum socieati finem; multitudinis autem officium sit, gubernari se pati, et rectorum sequi ductum obedienter. Praeclare Cyprianus Martyr: "Dominus noster cuius praecepta metuere et servare debemus, Episcopi honorem et Ecclesiae suae rationem disponens, in Evangelio loquitur, et dicit Petro: *Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus,* etc. Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiae ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem praepositos gubernetur;" idque ait: "divina lege fundatum."[5] Contra ea, legis huius praescripto, administratio tuitioque cultus publici non hierarchiae divinitus constitutae relinquitur, sed certae cuidam defertur consociationi civium: cui quidem forma ratioque imponitur personae legitimae, quaeque in universo religiosi cultus genere sola habetur civilibus uti instructa iuribus, ita obligationibus obstricta. Igitur ad consociationem huiusmodi templorum aedificiorumque sacrorum usus, rerum ecclesiasticarum tum moventium tum solidarum possessio respiciet; ipsi de Episcoporum, de Curionum, de Seminariorum aedibus liberum, licet ad tempus, permittetur arbitrium; ipsius erit administrare bona, corrogare stipes, pecuniam et legata percipere, sacrorum causa. De hierarichia vero silentium est. Statuitur quidem, istas consociationes ita conflandas esse, quemadmodum cultus religiosi, cuius exercendi gratia instituuntur, propria disciplina ratioque vult; verumtamen cavetur, ut si qua forte de ipsarum rebus controversia inciderit, eam dumtaxat apud *Consilium Status* diiudicari oporteat. Perspicuum est igitur ipsas consociationes adeo civili potestati obnoxias esse, nihil ut in eis ecclesiasticae auctoritati loci relinquatur. Quantopere haec omnia sint Ecclesiae aliena dignitati, contraria iuribus et constitutioni divinae, nemo non videt: eo magis, quod non certis definitisque formulis, verum tam vagis tamque late patentibus perscripta lex est in hoc capite, ut iure sint ex eius interpretatione peiora metuenda.

Praeterea nihil hac ipsa lege inimicius libertati Ecclesiae. Etenim, si prohibentur sacri magistratus, ob interiectas consociationes quas diximus, plenam muneris sui exercere potestatem; si in easdem con-

[3] Ephes. iv., II. seqq.

[4] Matth. xviii., 18, 20; xvi., 18, 19; xviii., 17; Tit. ii., 15; II. Cor. x., 6; xii., 10 et alibi.

[5] St. Cypr. Epist. xxxiii. (ad xxvii. ad lapses), n. 1.

sociationes summa vindicatur *Consilio Status* auctoritas, eaeque parere alienissimis a iure communi statutis iubentur, ita ut difficile coalescere, difficilius queant consistere; si data divini cultus exercendi copia, multiplici exceptione minuitur; erepta Ecclesiae studio vigilantiaeque, custodia templorum Reipublicae attribuitur; ipsum coercetur Ecclesiae munus de fide ac morum sanctitate concionandi, et severiores irrogantur clericis poenae; si haec et talia sanciuntur, in quibus multum etiam libido interpretandi possit, quid hic aliud agitur, quam ut Ecclesia in humili abiectaque conditione locetur, et pacificorum civium, quae quidem est pars Galliae multo maxima, per speciem conservandi publici ordinis, sanctissimum ius violetur profitendae, uti velint, religionis suae? Quamquam Civitas non comprimenda solum divini cultus professione, qua totam vim rationemque definit religionis, Ecclesiam vulnerat; sed eius etiam vel virtuti beneficae intercludendo aditus ad populum, vel actionem multipliciter debilitando. Igitur satis non habuit, praeter cetera, Ordines submovisse religiosorum, unde in sacri ministerii perfunctione, in institutione atque eruditione adolescentis aetatis, in christianae procuratione beneficentiae praeclara adiumenta suppetebant Ecclesiae: nam humanis eam opibus, id est necessario quodam ad vitam et ad munus subsidio, intervertit.

Sane, ad ea quae conquesti sumus damna et iniurias, hoc accedit, ut ista de discidio lex ius Ecclesiae sua sibi habendi bona violet atque imminuat. Etenim de patrimonii, magnam partem, possessione, probatissimis quibusque titulis quaesiti, Ecclesiam, alte iustitia reclamante, deturbat; quidquid rite constitutum sit, addicta pecunia in divinum cultum aut in stata defunctorum solatia, tollit atque irritum iubet esse; quas facultates catholicorum liberalitas christianis utique scholis aut variis christianae beneficentiae institutis sustinendis destinarat, eas ad instituta laicorum transfert, ubi plerumque aliquod catholicae religionis vestigium frustra quaeras: in quo quidem patet, una cum Ecclesiae iuribus, testamenta voluntatesque apertas auctorum everti. Quod vero per summam iniuriam edicit, quibus aedificiis Ecclesia ante pactum conventum utebatur, ea posthac civitatis ut provinciarum aut municipiorum fore, singulari Nobis est sollicitudini. Nam si consociationibus divino cultui exercendo usus templorum, ut videmus, gratuitus nec definitus conceditur, concessum tamen huiusmodi tot tantisque exceptionibus extenuatur, ut reapse templorum arbitrium omne civiles magistratus obtineant. Vehementer praeterea timemus sanctitati templorum: neque enim cernimus abesse periculum, ne augusta divinae maiestatis domicilia, eademque carissima memoriae religionique Gallorum loca, profanas in manus quum deciderint, profanis ritibus polluantur. In eo autem, quod Rempublicam lex officio solvit suppeditandi annuos sacrorum sumptus, simul

fidem sollemni pacto obligatam, simul iustitiam laedit gravissime. Etenim nullam dubitationem hoc habet, quod ipsa rei gestae testantur monumenta, Rempublicam Gallicam quum pacto convento sibi suscepit onus praebendi Clero unde vitam decenter ipse agere, ac publicam religionis dignitatem curare posset, non id fecisse comitatis benignitatisque gratia; verum ut eam, quam proximo tempore Ecclesiae passa esset publice direptionem bonorum, saltem ex parte aliqua sarciret. Similiter eodem convento, quum Pontifex, concordiae studens, recepit, se successoresque suos nullam molestiam exhibituros iis ad quos direpta Ecclesiae bona pervenisset, sub ea conditione constat recepisse, ut per ipsam Rempublicam perpetuo esset honestae et Cleri et divini cultus tuitioni consultum.

Postremo, ne illud quidem silebimus, hanc legem, praeterquam Ecclesiae rebus, vestrae etiam civitati non exiguo futuram damno. Neque enim potest esse dubium quin multum habitura sit facultatis ad eam labefactandam coniunctionem et conspirationem animorum, quae si desit, nulla stare aut vigere queat civitas; et quam, his maxime Europae temporibus, quisquis est in Gallia vir bonus vereque amans patriae, salvam et incolumen velle debet. Nos quidem, exemplo Decessoris, a quo exploratissimae erga nationem vestram caritatis eximiae cepimos hereditatem, quum avitae religionis tueri apud vos integritatem iurium niteremur, hoc simul spectavimus semper et contendimus, communem omnium vestrum pacem concordiamque cuius, nullum vinculum arctius quam religio, confirmare. Quapropter intelligere sine magno angore non possumus, eam auctoritate publica patratam esse rem, quae, concitatis iam populi studiis funestarum de rebus religiosis contentionum faces adiiciendo, perturbare funditus civitatem posse videatur.

Itaque, Apostolici Nostri officii memores, quo sacrosancta Ecclesiae iura a quavis impugnatione defendere ac servare integra debemus. Nos pro suprema, quam obtinemus divinitus, auctoritate, sancitam legem, quae Rempublicam Gallicanam seorsum ab Ecclesia separat, reprobamus ac damnamus; idque ob eas quas exposuimus causas: quod maxima afficit iniuria Deum, quem sollemniter eiurat, principio declarans Rempublicam cuiusvis religiosi cultus expertem; quod naturae ius gentiumque violat et publicam pactorum fidem; quod constitutioni divinae et rationibus intimis et libertati adversatur Ecclesiae; quod iustitiam evertit, ius opprimendo dominii, multiplici titulo ipsaque conventione legitime quaesitum; quod graviter Apostolicae Sedis dignitatem ac personam Nostram, Episcoporum Ordinem, Clerum et Catholicos Gallos offendit. Propterea de rogatione, latione, promulgatione eiusdem legis vehementissime expostulamus; in eaque testamur nihil quidquam inesse momenti ad infirmanda Ecclesiae iura, nulla hominum vi ausuque mutabili.

Haec ad istius detestationem facti vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, Gallicano populo, atque adeo christiani nominis universitati edicere habuimus. Equidem molestissime, ut diximus, afficimur, mala prospicientes quae ab hac lege dilectae nationi impendent, maximeque commovemur miseriis, aerumnis, laboribus omne genus, in quibus fore vos, Venerabiles Fratres, Clerumque vestrum cernimus. Attamen, ne his tantis curis affligi Nos frangique patiamur prohibet divinae benignitatis providentiaeque cogitatio, atque exploratissima spes, nunquam fore ut Ecclesiam Iesus Christus ope praesentiaque sua destituat. Itaque longe id abest a Nobis, ut quidquam formidemus, Ecclesiae causa. Divina est virtutis eius stabilitas atque constantia, eaque satis, opinamur, tot saeculorum experimento cognita. Nemo enim unus ignorat, asperitates rerum hac temporis diuturnitate in eam incubiusse et plurimas et maximas; atque, ubi virtutem non humana maiorem deficere necesse fuisset, Ecclesiam inde validorem semper auctioremque emersisse. Ac de legibus in perniciem Ecclesiae conditis, hoc ferme usuvenire, historia teste, scimus, ut quas invidia conflaverit, eas postea, utpote noxias in primis civitati, prudentia resolvat: idque ipsum in Gallia haud ita veteri memoria constat contigisse. Quod insigne maiorum exemplum utinam sequi inducant animum, qui rerum potiuntur: matureque religionem, effectricem humanitatis, fautricem prosperitatis publicae, in possessionem dignitatis libertatisque suae, omnibus plaudentibus bonis, restituant.

Interea tamen, dum opprimendi exagitandi libido dominabitur, filii Ecclesiae, si unquam alias, oportet, *induti arma lucis,*[6] pro veritate ac iustitia, omni qua possunt ope nitantur. In quo vos, magistri auctoresque ceterorum, profecto, Venerabiles Fratres, omnem eam studii alacritatem, vigilantiam, constantiamque praestabitis, quae Galliae Episcoporum vetus ac spectatissima laus est. Sed hoc potissime studere vos volumus, quod maxime rem continet, ut omnium vestrum in tutandis Ecclesiae rationibus summa sit sententiarum consiliorumque consensio. Nobis quidem certum deliberatumque est, qua norma dirigendam esse in his rerum difficultatibus operam vestram arbitremur, opportune vobis praescribere; nec dubitandum quin praescripta vos Nostra diligentissime executuri sitis. Pergite porro, ut instituistis, atque eo etiam impensius, roborare pietatem communem; praeceptionem doctrinae christianae promovere vulgatioremque facere; errorum fallacias, corruptelarum illecebras, tam late hodie fusas, a vestro cuiusque grege defendere; eidem ad docendum, monendum, hortandum, solandum adesse, omnia denique pastoralis caritatis officia conferre. Nec vero elaborantibus vobis non se adiutorem strenuissimum praebebit Clerus vester; quem

[6] Rom. xiii., 12.
[7] Act. v., 41.

quidem, viris affluentem pietate, eruditione, obsequio in Apostolicam Sedem eximiis, promptum paratumque esse novimus, se totum vobis pro Ecclesia sempiternaque animarum salute dedere. Certe autem qui sunt huius Ordinis, in hac tempestate sentient sic se animatos esse oportere, quemadmodum fuisse Apostolos accepimus, *gaudentes . . . quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu contumeliam pati.*"[7] Itaque iura libertatemque Ecclesiae fortiter vindicabunt, omni tamen adversus quempiam asperitate remota: quin imo, caritatis memores, ut Christi ministros in primis addecet, aequitate iniuriam, lenitate contumaciam, beneficiis maleficia pensabunt.

Iam vos compellamus, catholici quotquot estis in Gallia; vobisque vox Nostra tum testimonio effusissimae benevolentiae, qua gentem vestram diligere non desinimus, tum in calamitosissimis rebus quae imminent, solatio sit. Hoc sibi destinasse pravas hominum sectas, cervicibus vestris impositas, imo hoc denuntiasse insigni audacia se velle, nostris: delere catholicum in Gallia nomen. Eam nempe contendunt extrahere radicitus ex animis vestris fidem, quae avis et maioribus gloriam, patriae prosperitatem verendamque amplitudinem peperit, vobis levamenta aerumnarum ministrat, pacem tuetur traquillitatemque domesticam, viam munit ad beatitatem adipiscendam sine fine mansuram. In huius defensionem fidei summa vi incumbendum vobis putatis esse scilicet: sed hoc habete, inani vos nisu laboraturos, si dissociatis viribus propulsare hostiles impetus nitemini. Abiicite igitur, si quae insident inter vos, discordiarum semina: ac date operam, ut tanta omnes conspiratione voluntatum et agendi similitudine coniuncti sitis, quanta esse decet homines, quibus una eademque est causa propugnanda, atque ea causa, pro qua quisque non invite debeat, si opus fuerit, aliquam privati iudicii iacturam facere. Omnino magna generosae virtutis exempla detis oportet, si, quantum est in vobis, vultis, ut officium est, avitam religionem a praesenti discrimine eripere: in quo benigne facientes ministris Dei, divinam peculiari modo benignitatem vobis conciliabitis.

At vobis ad patrocinium religionis digne suscipiendum, recte utiliterque sustinendum, illa esse maxima arbitremini: christianae sapientiae praeceptis vosmetipsos conformari adeo, ut ex moribus atque omni vita professio catholica eluceat; et arctissime cum iis cohaerere, quorum propria est religiosae rei procuratio, cum sacerdotibus nimirum et Episcopis vestris et, quod caput est, cum hac Apostolica Sede, in qua, tamquam centro, catholicorum fides et conveniens fidei actio nititur. Sic ergo parati atque instructi, ad hanc pro Ecclesia propugnationem fidenter accedite; sed videte, ut fiduciae vestrae tota ratio in Deo consistat, cuius agitis causam: eius idcirco opportunitatem auxilii implorare ne cessetis. Nos vero, quamdiu ita vobis erit periclitandum, vobiscum praesentes cogitatione ani-

moque versabimur; laborum, curarum, dolorum participes: simulque prece atque obsecratione humili ac supplici apud Auctorem Statoremque Ecclesiae instabimus, ut respiciat Galliam misericors, eamque tantis iactatam fluctibus celeriter, deprecante Maria Immaculata, in tranquillum redigat.

Auspicem divinorum munerum, ac testem praecipuae benevolentiae Nostrae, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres ac dilecti Filii, Apostolicam Benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die XI. Februarii anno MDCCCCVI., Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIVS PP. X.

In Memoriam.

THE REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D. D.

Catholic historical literature has sustained a serious loss by the death of the Rev. Reuben Parsons, a doctor of divinity and general man of letters, well known to the world by his careful writings for many years. Dr. Parsons belonged to the Archdiocese of New York, and for the past dozen years he acted as chaplain to St. Joseph's Hospital, at Yonkers, N. Y. It was there that he found his death on the 13th of April last, after many months of battling with an enfeebled condition brought on originally from that treacherous malady, pleurisy. Despite his feeble health, the deceased priest contrived to put forth an immense body of work in the field of history—especially Catholic history. To our readers it will be unnecessary to indicate the character or value of his work. He was a frequent contributor to this magazine, and whatever he sent forward was marked by solid erudition as well as that painstaking care about dates and details that are as the mortar and cement that give endurance and cohesion to a great architectural creation. There are some who appear to think that these are the only valuable elements in a historian's work, and that the philosophic deductions of the thoughtful and learned commentator are so much redundancy, entailing a waste of valuable time in an age that has no leisure or taste for either serious reflection or the elegance of form that marks the art of *belles lettres*. Minds so constructed cannot properly distinguish between such works as Haydn's Dictionary of Dates and Carlyle's French Revolution; an almanac compiler is to these more serviceable, in the field of reference, than Gibbon or Macaulay. Dr. Parsons' work was valuable for its general accuracy, considering the immense quantity of it which came from his pen; and his style was conspicuous for its clarity, directness and careful regard to chronological or argumentative sequence in the presentation of a multiplicity of facts more or less related and not seldom bewildering to the mind that tries to unravel the tangled skein of human action in many and diverse regions of the globe. During the past ten or twelve years of his life he produced several ponderous volumes on

Church history and other subjects, the most valuable, perhaps, of these being his "Studies in Church History" and a "Universal History." These are highly esteemed as sources of information for the busy ecclesiastical student. His literary industry attracted the attention of the late great Pontiff, Leo XIII., who forwarded to Dr. Parsons a brief in commendation of his zeal and diligence in defense of the Church and the Holy See.

Dr. Parsons was 65 years old when death came. He was born in New York in 1841, the son of a mixed marriage, his father Protestant, his mother one of the old faith. At Emmitsburg (Mount St. Mary's) he received his early education, and at the American College at Rome he brought his ecclesiastical studies to a close. He was the first prefect of that institution and one of the first batch of thirteen students with which it was opened. He was one of those chosen for the honor of reading addresses to Pope Pius IX. when the inauguration ceremony took place (December 8, 1859). A truly fine tribute was paid to the worth of the deceased as an historian and as a zealous priest by one most competent to judge of the value of his work and character, the Rev. Dr. Henry Brann. R. I. P.

BRYAN J. CLINCH.

Readers of this magazine have long been familiar with the signature "Bryan J. Clinch" to articles on historical and literary subjects interesting to the Catholic world. We deeply regret to say that it will now have to disappear from its pages, for the writer is with us no longer. He died on the 17th of May last at Oakland, California, in a somewhat unexpected way. Mr. Clinch had passed unscathed through the horrors of the earthquake and the resultant conflagration in San Francisco. But he had undoubtedly sustained a shock from these dreadful experiences, for he had, along with several others, been pent up for a couple of hours cooped in by encircling walls of flame and awaiting the moment when the building which gave them temporary shelter would be swallowed up along with the neighboring ones. It was an appalling situation. At last the wind shifted and the advancing flames took a different direction; and for the time Mr. Clinch and his fellow-refugees were safe. He wrote in quite a cheerful spirit about the dreadful affair to one of his fellow-contributors in Philadelphia a couple of days afterward; and the next his friend heard about him was that the buoyant-hearted writer was dead. He had been attacked by footpads on the street and robbed of his watch and money; and this new shock proved too

much for a system never the most robust. This was on the 12th of May, and on the 17th of the same month he was no more. On the morning of the 12th he had been at Santa Clara College, giving directions for repairs needed there in consequence of the earthquake. He was then in the best of spirits, chatting pleasantly about his recent adventures; and the next thing the principal, Rev. Father Gleeson, S. J., heard about him was the news of his untimely end. It was a heavy blow, for Mr. Clinch was a dear friend and a most familiar figure in the Santa Clara institution, which a short time previously had conferred on him, because of his great services in literature, the degree of doctor in philosophy.

A couple of years before his death Mr. Clinch had made a very extensive European tour, some results of which were the papers on the conditions in France, Belgium and Italy, as he found them, which appeared in this REVIEW soon after his return. He was a good linguist, and was thus enabled to make himself easily at home in the various beautiful regions which he visited during his sojourn in Europe.

Mr. Clinch was by profession an architect and civil engineer. He was intrusted with the erection of many fine churches and colleges in California, and the style in which they were finished under his direction gives proof of rich taste and scientific skill as a builder and designer.

Mr. Clinch was a native of Dublin, Ireland. He was a relative of the Kenrick family that gave to the United States two of its greatest Archbishops, besides to Ireland some beloved and learned priests. He studied at the Catholic University of Dublin—probably for some time under its renowned rector, Dr. Newman, afterwards Cardinal. He had for fellow-students there some notable Irish spirits, like the late Edmund O'Donovan, full of ardor and enthusiasm, as he himself always was, for the liberation of their country from the heavy English yoke. To the last hour of his life Mr. Clinch cherished the hope to behold these youthful dreams realized. He took up the cause of the Gaelic revival with eagerness and zeal, and an admirable article on the subject in the *Messenger* was almost the last of his literary tasks.

With all his varied talents and accomplishments Mr. Clinch never thrust himself before the world, as it is the general custom in the United States now to do. In all his articles—and they were many—it would be very hard to find the personal pronoun used of himself, unless perhaps by way of quotation. Like all true scholars and students, he was modest as to his own claims or deserts. His range of study was very great, and yet this fact was not easily discoverable in his talk; one would have to go in quest of it by direct methods

in order to ascertain it. He was a charming talker, sprightly and versatile, and this gift was aided by a very retentive memory and a keenly observant habit. No truer Catholic ever breathed, yet his piety was of the same unostentatious kind as his mental consciousness.

One magnum opus Mr. Clinch has left, and it is a valuable one. It is a "History of the Californian Missions." It is highly prized for its painstaking character and the purity of its literary style. He left another work in MS.—a "History of Santa Clara College," which may soon be published, it is to be presumed. To write it was to the author a very labor of love, for he and many in Santa Clara were the dearest of friends for many years.

California had been Mr. Clinch's home for about thirty years, and he was warmly attached to it, for its beauties of scene and charms of climate, as well as because of early friendships. He had traveled much of its surface and made many friends among its early settlers. He had many interesting notes of these to regale the conversation. He loved to tell in especial of an old Irish pair on a ranch who kept open house, all the year round, for all who passed that way. Down to the time when Mr. Clinch last met this hospitable pair they had furnished a meal and often a bed to as many as fourteen thousand wayfarers; and they never had to lock a door night or day or refuse a traveler their kindly Irish hospitality. Mr. Clinch was very proud of these humble but sturdy fellow Irish exiles.

To Archbishop Ryan and all the staff of the QUARTERLY Mr. Clinch was a dearly cherished friend. His sad taking off was to them a most painful shock. His eternal happy repose will be to them a heartfelt hope.

Scientific Chronicle

THE SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE.

Like many another great catastrophe resulting from some sudden convulsion of nature, the calamity in San Francisco has by its suddenness and its magnitude diverted men's minds from its physical cause to its effects in the destruction of life and property. We have heard this earthquake described as one of the greatest of modern times, and the truth of this statement cannot be doubted if we confine our attention to its relations to ourselves. If, however, this phenomenon had occurred in a thinly populated area, we should have heard very little of it. It was an earthquake of the first magnitude, but one that was not unlooked for by students of geology and kindred sciences. Its cause is known with a fair degree of certainty. Perhaps a brief *résumé* of what has been ascertained in regard to it up to the present will prove acceptable to readers of the Chronicle. It will be necessary as a preliminary to give a synopsis of the conclusions of the new seismology, as that branch of earth physics dealing with earth movements which has had its great development during the last thirty years has been not inappropriately called.

We must realize at the outset that the earth is a very elastic mass, a veritable *terra infirma*. Its sensitiveness is analogous to that of a living organism, and under the impulse derived from stresses and strains which result from various geologic forces, an elastic vibration is set up within the earth from some point or some locus which may be considered as a point, which vibration propagates itself according to the laws of elastic wave motion in a solid medium. This point from which the earth waves move in all directions is situated somewhere beneath the surface of the ground and is called the *centrum*. A point vertically above this on the surface is called the *epicentrum*, and a line joining the two is called the seismic vertical. The epicentrum may be a considerable area, just as the centrum may be, but both are considered as points to avoid complexity and consequent obscurity in description. At the epicentrum the effects of the quake at the surface are most pronounced, and they fade away as the horizontal distance from the epicentrum increases. If we suppose the earth to be perfectly homogeneous, then the intensity of the earthquake, that is, the degree of vigor with which the surface is shaken, will die out in such a way as to be equal at all points equidistant from the epicentrum. Lines joining points of equal intensity are called isoseismals, and these lines, on the supposition of the earth's homogeneity, would form circles. As a matter of fact, they are any-

thing but circles, except very rarely, when they approach a circle roughly. The reason is obviously the great want of uniformity in the material of the earth's crust. Finally, the area within which the shaking is most forcible is called the *meizoseismic area.*

An earthquake is a wave or series of waves started from some point or locus beneath the surface of the earth, the depth of which point being probably never more than ten miles, and is probably generally less than five. These waves reaching the surface cause the motions of the soil and rocks which are merely secondary movements resulting from the original vibrations, and are felt much more vigorously in made ground or in alluvial or loose soil than in solid masses of rock. It must not be thought from what has been said that the earth is ever at complete rest. On the contrary, the crust of the globe is pervaded almost constantly with minute tremors, called *microseismic tremors,* whose cause may differ widely from the cause of a true earthquake, such causes being, among others, the rolling of railway trains and the impact of water falling in large volume over a precipice.

Earthquakes have been variously classified. Seismologists recognize two classes now, the volcanic and the tectonic or dislocation quakes. The former are associated in some way with volcanoes. They are less frequent than those of the second class, are restricted to a relatively small area and their centra can be determined with a fair degree of definiteness. After-quakes are absent in earthquakes of this class, which originate, according to the best authorities, at depths of less than two miles. The characteristics of earthquakes of the second class are just the opposite of those of the first, for their depth of origin may be greater, their centra are usually indefinite or elongated, their radius of activity is larger and after-quakes usually follow the principal disturbance. The vibrations of the volcanic quakes may be set up by the sudden intrusion of molten rock into fissures or between strata or it may result from the opening of such fissures preparatory to the intrusion and it may be extension of lava on the surface. The tremors in dislocation quakes arise from the fracture of rocks and the slipping of strata on each other as the rocks are faulted. A fault, it will be remembered, occurs when a crack arises across a stratum or a number of strata, and one side is moved up or down relatively to the other. The friction of one huge mass on another would give rise to a vibration which would be propagated as an earth wave. The earthquake at San Francisco was a tectonic earthquake.

Such earthquakes are frequent in California. In the interval between the years 1850 to 1886 254 were recorded in San Francisco and 514 during the same period in other parts of California, most

of them exhibiting the features of tectonic disturbances. The region about San Francisco Bay has been especially favored. The reason for this, in the opinion of students of the geology of the region, lies in the fact that the region is part of the Coast Range, which is young compared with the mountains to the east of it and which is still growing. The Coast Range is as a consequence one of the great seismic regions of the globe.

Now, in the course of this growth the familiar geological processes of upheaval and subsidence, folding and faulting, of erosion and sedimentation are exceedingly active. Recent studies have shown that the San Francisco peninsula alone, to say nothing of the rest of the region, is traversed by three great faults with a prevailing north-northwest trend. The meizoseismal area, as far as determined, is a band about three hundred miles long and thirty miles parallel to these faults and to the Coast Range. This makes it very probable that some one of these faults or of others parallel to these had much to do with the earthquake. President Jordan, of Leland Stanford Junior University, ascribes it to frictions along the line of a famous old fault called Portolá, about five miles from the university, which is thirty miles south of San Francisco. One writer thinks that the epicentrum was submarine and at some little distance off the coast, while another suggests that the great San Bruno fault, which just touched the city on the southwest, may be responsible. The first shock came at 5.13 A. M. Pacific time, and lasted 28 seconds. Another, less violent, came in five minutes. Tremors were almost continuous meanwhile. A third strong shock came about 8.15 A. M. Others came shortly before 10 A. M. and about 1.30 and 7 P. M. Seismographs in various parts of the world soon recorded the earthquake.

These seismograph records are of great interest. The tremors thereon registered are of two kinds, preliminary and main tremors. The preliminary tremors travel through the earth, the main tremors along the surface. The former traveled at a speed of about 5.4 miles per second; in the case of the latter the speed varied from 2.2 miles to 3.1 miles per second. It is known that these earth waves traveled a distance along the surface of at least 30,000 miles, for they made two successive records on the seismograph at Birmingham, in England. This fact alone points to the San Francisco earthquake as to one of the first magnitude.

RECENT PROGRESS IN NITROGEN FIXING.

We have already referred in these pages (see QUARTERLY for Jan-

uary, 1905) to the experiments of Dr. Moore, of the United States Department of Agriculture, which resulted in a commercial production of nitrogen fixing bacteria. It is a pleasure to record their continued success in use. We wish to draw attention at present to some other methods of nitrogen fixing, one of which is an improvement on one already well known and the other a comparatively new process. Some years ago Messrs. Bradley and Lovejoy succeeded in uniting the oxygen and hydrogen of the air in small amount by passing air into a chamber cylindrical in shape and having a smaller moveable cylinder within. By a special arrangement of points within one and outside the other cylinder sparks of high intensity pass across an open space and bring about the chemical union of the nitrogen and oxygen. The combined gases were to be absorbed by water and nitric acid formed from which to make nitrates. But the method was not a success, and the machine has been dismantled. The same principle has, however, been retained by several European experimenters. Professor Birkeland and Dr. S. Eyde, of Christiana, in Norway, use a high-pressure flaming electric arc which is made to move rapidly through a considerable space under the influence of a powerful magnet. They seem to have met with commercial success. An Italian investigator, E. Rossi, oxidizes air when under heavy pressure by means of an incandescent substance, while Messrs. Siemens and Holske use a single arc of great size formed by an enormous current at a low voltage instead of a number of small sparks resulting from a current of high potential.

The second process alluded to is one perfected by Dr. Adolf Frank, of Charlottenburg. Calcium carbide is familiar as the substance that interacts with water to form acetylene gas. Professor Frank found that if he passed nitrogen over red-hot calcium carbide a reaction took place by which the carbide was transformed into carbon and a substance called calcium cyanamide. This last substance proved to be an almost ideal fertilizer. First of all, if it were heated with high pressure steam it passed easily into limestone and ammonia. It evolved besides this latter gas slowly on being merely spread out in moist air. The force of its action seems to lie in the fact that it breaks down in the soil into a substance called cyanamide, and that this passes further into ammonia. The ammonia then goes over by oxidation into nitric acid, which interacts with the lime to form calcium nitrate. The calcium cyanamide is used further for the manufacture of ammonia, for the case hardening of steel, for the manufacture of mica, for pharmaceutical preparations and for the making of guanidine. The substance sarcosin unites with cyanamide and gives creatine, a substance found in the human muscle. Altogether Professor Frank has made a wonderful discovery and has made

besides the best step forward as yet towards the free utilization of the inert nitrogen of the atmosphere.

ELECTRICAL MUSIC.

That music fit for the gods and men may be produced by vibrating strings has been familiar to mankind for centuries. It remained for the twentieth century to show that music could be produced by a vibrating electric current. Dr. Thaddeus Cahill has perfected an instrument at his laboratory at Holyoke, Mass., by means of which he not only produces music electrically, but sends it over miles of wire to listeners at distant points. The principle of the instrument, called the telharmonium, is simple enough. The performer is seated at a keyboard like that of an organ. Within the instrument are a large number of small dynamos generating alternating currents. These alternating currents are real vibrations, and they are thrown into circuit by depressing the proper keys, and the vibrating impulses are sent along the wires causing vibrations in the diaphragm of the receiving telephone. The appartus whereby this is effected is not as simple as the physical principle. Its present perfection came as the result of the labor of years on the part of the inventor.

GENERAL NOTES.

A New Oxide of Carbon.—Messrs. O. Diels and B. Wolf working in E. Fischer's laboratory have discovered a new oxide of carbon. It is described as one of the two possible anhydrides of malonic acid, and is formed when the vapor of diethye malonate is passed over phosphorus pentoxide, whereby it loses two molecules of alcohol, which is immediately converted into ethylene and water, with a resulting oxide of carbon of the formula $C^3 O^2$. The new oxide is a colorless, very volatile liquid which boils at a temperature of 7 degrees.

A Long Aerial Flight.—Those who remember the description given in the Chronicle some time ago of the experiments of the Wright brothers with an aeroplane will be interested to know that as a result of their continued labors they succeeded on October 5 last in flying a distance of 25 1-5 miles in 38 minutes 3 seconds, and stopped only because of exhaustion of fuel. It is rumored that the French Government are after the option on the machine.

New York Observatory and Nautical Museum.—New York is to be no longer behind other great cities, but will soon have a splendidly equipped observatory for research in astronomy, navigation and kindred subjects, with a great photographic and visual telescope and instruments for the study of astrophysics, magnetism and seismology. A museum will be attached wherein will be exhibited models and instruments of every kind that have relation to navigation. Opportunities will be given to those qualified to do research work in nautical astronomy and allied branches.

Oxygen from Liquid Air.—Liquid air has not done all that writers in popular magazines would have us believe it was going to do. It is utilized commercially now for the production of pure oxygen. Since liquid air is practically nothing more than a mixture of liquid air and liquid nitrogen, when the temperature of the liquid is raised the nitrogen will vaporize first because its boiling point is lower than that of liquid oxygen. The reduction of temperature caused by this evaporation is used to cool the air that is going to be liquefied in turn. M. Georges Claude has informed the French Academy that he has in operation a plant capable of turning out 1,000 cubic metres of oxygen, 96 to 98 per cent. pure, in twenty-four hours.

M. J. Ahern, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

Book Reviews

THE LAW OF THE CHURCH. A Cyclopaedia of Canon Law for English-speaking Countries. By *Ethelred Taunton*, priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, $6.75.

"My aim," says Father Taunton, "has been throughout to provide a practical work upon the canon law with special reference to English-speaking countries. Questions which more directly concern dogma, liturgy, morals and ceremonial are passed over; also all questions concerning regulars, except where they come into contact directly or indirectly with the episcopal authority. Much of this book may be found in the many volumes of the *Bibliotheca Canonica, Iuridica,* etc., of Ferraris, a work which, appearing first about the middle of the eighteenth century, has received so many additions from various hands that, so to say, it has become difficult to see the wood on account of the trees. I have also put most of the later and modern-day writers under direct contribution; I have also attempted to keep pace with the latest decisions. It is also well to point out clearly that I first treat of the common law on each point and then give the particular law which sometimes will be found to modify the former. It is quite likely that, in a book treating of so many subjects, errors—not grave ones, I hope—may have crept in unwittingly. I shall be truly grateful if those competent for the task will point them out to me, so that they may receive attention should other editions be wanted. The work has been cheerfully submitted to two strict revisions by independent censors, and everything has been done to secure an exact Roman spirit throughout the pages."

No priest's library is supposed to be complete without containing one or other edition of the *Prompta Bibliotheca* of Ferraris. *Prompta* is a strange appellation for that immense work; for, owing to the vast scale on which the subjects are treated, one feels, when hunting up anything in it, that he is searching for a pin in a ten-acre field. It takes an expert, moreover, to determine what legislation is still in force and what has become obsolete, what is of universal force and what has been modified in particular countries. Father Taunton, by wonderful power of condensation, has boiled down Ferraris into one volume, and has placed in our hands a badly needed digest of the canon law as it exists *hic et nunc*. We shall leave to professional canonists the task of examining the book with a microscope to test its absolute accuracy in petty details. We opine that very few flaws will be thus detected.

As an example of Father Taunton's precision, lucidity and thoroughness we shall take the word "Motu Proprio."

1. A Motu proprio is a kind of apostolic letter (q. v.), generally in the form of a decree issued by the Roman Pontiff on his own initiative. The style is that of a breve (q. v.), *e. g.*, Pius PP. X., motu proprio, with a clause giving the object of the legislation.

2. It differs from breves in that it is not given sub annulo Piscatoris, and it bears at the end the Pope's name, *e. g.*, Pius PP. X. It is not countersigned by any official.

3. It may be in any language, generally in Latin or Italian.

4. Motu proprio is also a phrase which occurs in many Papal documents, and it has, amongst many meanings, the following senses:

1. This clause presumes that the Pope wishes to use the fullness of his power.

2. This clause, in dispensations, interprets them in the widest sense.

3. It has sometimes the effect of the clause non obstantibus.

4. A rescript accorded motu proprio produces its effect even when it would be contrary to laws.

5. What a Pope does motu proprio in favor of a person is valid, although it be contrary to his own decrees.

6. A rescript so granted produces its effect in favor of the other even before he presents it.

7. The clause motu proprio deviates even from expressed reservations.

8. It excludes all subreption (q. v.).

9. It does not imply a dispensation of irregularity or other incapacity.

10. It never takes away the rights of a third person.

11. It is never to be presumed if it be not expressed.

12. It does not give faith to what is narrated.

We were particularly well pleased with the genuinely "ultramontane," that is, Catholic proclamation of principles by the author in his introduction. The concluding words are worthy of St. Bernard: "Writing these lines beneath the shadow of that glorious dome that hangs over the tomb of Blessed Peter, I submit ex animo this, as well as all my other works, to the supreme judgment of Holy Mother Church. Beforehand I reject everything that she may judge requires correction. For she is the pillar and ground of the Truth, and her word is life and law."

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. By *Rev. Horace K. Mann.* Vol. II., 795-858. B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. Price, $3.00, net.

We have read this second (third) volume of Rev. Mr. Mann's

"Lives of the Popes" with much pleasure. The period dealt with extends through nine Pontificates, that is, from the accession of Leo III. in 795 to the death of Benedict III. in 858. The next volume will begin with the glorious reign of St. Nicholas I. It was a period during which the influence of the Papacy upon the world advanced by leaps and bounds. As the learned author justly observes, we perceive through the energetic action of the Popes of those times how little the later False Decretals had to do with the establishment of the Papal jurisdiction. Nearly every problem which was to confront the Church and the Papacy during the Middle Ages is seen in germ during this Carolingian period. The relations, amicable and otherwise, between the Papacy and the new Empire founded by it, the unruly factions of the Roman nobility, fated to play so disturbing a part in the local history of Rome, the growing estrangement between the East and the West, soon to issue in the schism of the Greeks, the opening combat between the Cross and the Crescent on Italian soil, the long struggle of the Popes to uphold the inviolability of the marriage tie, are clearly seen, pointing out the lines along which the Church and society are destined to move. The name of Leo III., the founder of the Holy Roman Empire, occupies an important place in the history of the world, whilst the heroic figure of St. Leo IV., the victor of the Saracens in the land and sea fight at Ostia, has extorted the admiration of Voltaire and Gibbon. Gibbon's tribute is extraordinarily eloquent. "This Pontiff," he says, "was born a Roman; the courage of the first days of the Republic glowed in his breast; and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum."

Though Father Mann disclaims any attempt at rhetoric, nevertheless we notice with satisfaction that there is a great improvement in his literary style. We feared, when we read his first volumes, that he was about to write the "Lives of the Popes" in a very dull way; and we, therefore, are much pleased to testify that he is warming up to his theme and that the present volume, whilst displaying the wide erudition of the former volumes and the author's scrupulous love of accuracy, has been made very readable. If Father Mann is not a Gregorovius, still a work like his is badly needed to correct the mistakes and exaggerations of that great historian of Rome.

J. Reuter, S. J. Neo-Confessarius Practice Instructus. Editio nova, cura *Augustini Lehmkuhl, S. J.* Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis, Mo. Price, $1.35, net.

The position of the young priest in the confessional is one of peculiar solemnity. Called upon, from the earliest days of his min-

istry, to exercise that "art of arts, the direction of souls," he would be exposed, through inexperience, to the danger of making fatal mistakes of judgment were it not for the solicitude of Holy Church to equip him with the wide experience of older heads. One of the most valuable of practical guides for young confessors is this little book of Father Reuter's, which has been a beacon light to thousands of priests for a century and a half, and which now reappears enlarged and brought down to date by no less a master of moral theology than the world-renowned Father Lehmkuhl. Out of reverence for the original writer the modern editor has taken care to distinguish carefully his own additions and the modifications made necessary by recent legislation through typographical signs. Needless to say, this little book, though written primarily for the benefit of young confessors, can be read and reread with advantage by every priest who has charge of souls.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By *Mgr. E. Le Camus*, Bishop of La Rochelle, France. Translated by William A. Hickey, priest of the Diocese of Springfield. Vol. I., xxix.+450. New York: The Cathedral Library Association, 534-536 Amsterdam avenue. Price, $1.50 per volume, net.

In reviewing an earlier edition of this work we said:

"This fruit of twelve years' constant labor is in every way a history so complete and so satisfying that it leaves nothing wanting either for the reader who seeks to criticize or for him who is in search of piety. To sum up our impression, this is a work destined to *assume a very high rank,* or rather a *place of honor,* among the most remarkable literary productions of our age."

Now made accessible in English, we can but repeat our previous opinion. Father Hickey in the volume before us has accomplished well his aim. His translation is worthy of the original, the beauty of the latter not having suffered, its method followed and its eloquence preserved.

The work will appear in three volumes, divided again into parts and books, to correspond with the main periods of the life of our Lord. In this, the first volume, is taken up "the earlier life of Jesus," the appearance of the Messiah in Israel, the immediate preparation of Jesus for His public life; the public life itself, His revelation of Himself to His disciples and the result thereof, and the gathering together of the first elements of the Church. A lengthy introduction treats of the necessity for the coming of the Saviour and adds a description of Palestine and its people.

A wide circulation among the laity should be expected for the work. Written in an easy and attractive style and yet with all atten-

tion to scholarly finish, it should form, with the Imitation of Christ and the Holy Bible, a complete library for a devout Catholic family.

Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von *Emil Michael, S. J.*
Erster Band: Deutschlands wirtschaftliche, und rechtliche Zustände während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Dritte, unveranderte Auflage. gr. 8vo. (XX. u. 368). Price, $2.00, net.
Zweiter Band: Religiös-sittliche Zustände, Erziehung und Unterricht während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Erste bis dritte Auflage. gr. 8vo. (XXXII. u. 450). Price, $2.25, net.
Dritter Band: Deutsche Wissenschaft und deutsche Mystik während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Erste bis dritte Auflage. gr. 8vo. (XXXII. u. 474). Price, $2.40, net.
Vierter Band: Deutsche Dichtung und deutsche Musik während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Erste bis dritte Auflage. gr. 8vo. (XXVIII. u. 458). Price, $2.40, net. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis.

We purposely refrained from giving a mere book notice of Father Michael's great work on mediæval Germany, confidently expecting that one or other of our contributors would before now have dealt with the important publication in an extended paper. We still hope that some one who has the time to digest the enormous mass of materials collected by the industry of the learned Jesuit will make it accessible to our readers. Meanwhile, with due apologies to author and publisher for our delay, we take pleasure in recommending the four volumes which have already appeared to all lovers of history. The work is inspired by Janssen and dedicated to that immortal investigator. It designs to do for the Germany of the Middle Ages that which he accomplished for the Reformation period. When we add that it is in every way worthy of a disciple of Janssen, we have pronounced an all-sufficient eulogy. It means not only that Father Michael has made an exhaustive study of all the materials and literature of his vast subject, but that, moreover, he has so well mastered it that he is able to present it in a facile, readable manner. The drudgery has been entirely his; to the reader is left the pleasure of following him step by step through all the phases of German mediæval life. One departure he has made from the customary writing of history, in that he presents the social life of the nation before treating of the political history. We do not regard this as a defect. The public history of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" has often enough been written up, and there remains but little that is new to be said about it. Moreover, the Holy Roman Empire is a thing of the past, and interest in it is mainly antiquarian. As the author wisely remarks, it is social questions that occupy men's attention to-day; and the roots of all our social problems are to be sought in the Middle Ages.

To show on how extended a scale the author has mapped out his work, we shall give a brief synopsis of the contents of the four

volumes. He begins with a description of the agricultural conditions of the age, the gradual amelioration of the life of the peasantry and the German colonization of the Eastern provinces. Then the growth of city life, with its trades and commerce, and the spread of the Hansa. Next a study of knighthood with its lights and shades. Finally the development of law and constitution. This forms the matter of Father Michael's first volume. The second volume is occupied with the religious and moral conditions of the thirteenth century; the life of the clergy, secular and religious; works of faith and charity; conflicts with heresies; education and elementary schools. By an easy transition the author, in volume third, deals with the higher education in the great age of Albertus Magnus and Aquinas; the preparation and sale of books; scholasticism; mysticism; the study of Holy Scripture; moral and pastoral theology; canon and civil law; the study of the classics and language; historical writings; physics; mathematics and medicine. The fourth volume passes to consider the creations of German mediævel art, poetry, novels, music and the beginnings of the drama. It is announced that the fifth volume will be mainly busied with the study of mediæval German architecture, which will form a fitting climax to the whole exposition of Germany's ante-Reformation "Kultur." The political history will follow. The reader will see at a glance what an important contribution to historical science the Innspruck professor has given to the world. If translated into English, even in condensed form, it would go far to dissipate many prejudices, begotten of ignorance, concerning the ages of faith.

MATILDA, COUNTESS OF TUSCANY. By *Mrs. Mary E. Huddy.* With four photogravure plates from drawings by George M. Sullivan. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. London: John Long. Price, net, $3.25.

When we consider the important rôle assumed by Tuscany's "Great Countess" in the regeneration of Christendom in the eleventh century, we are surprised that, before the appearance of this biography by Mrs. Huddy, no attempt had been made by an English writer to set out her heroic personality in relief. Her name is familiar enough; for no history of her age, sacred or profane, could be written without repeated allusions to the woman who was Hildebrand's right arm. But there are a great number of details concerning the personal life and character of great men and women which lie outside the framework of general history and can be treated satisfactorily only in a biography. Hence it is with great pleasure that after having viewed Matilda so often amidst a group of Popes, saints, Emperors and warriors, we can now behold her, as it were,

isolated, or as much isolated, as was possible in the case of so active a ruler. The Countess Matilda is the eternal glory of the Catholic Church, which moulded her virtues, and she well deserves the distinction of being the only woman, except Christina of Sweden, whose remains are interred in St. Peter's at Rome. Mrs. Huddy has performed her labor of love remarkably well and merits the gratitude of all English-speaking Catholics.

A MODERN PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. With an introduction by *Henry Sebastian Bowden*, of The Oratory. 12mo., cloth, xvi.+284. Burns & Oates, London, England. Benziger Brothers, New York. Price, $1.60.

"This work is in no way an echo or adaptation of Bunyan's allegory, but a narrative of experiences gained in search for the Truth." Thus the author, who states in addition that the history was written at the wish of a very intimate friend, for whom alone it was intended. It is a narrative of the religious life and perplexities of one setting out in life from the "City of Confusion," of all the doubts and difficulties met and vanquished before arriving at the "City Beautiful" of the Church.

Those who have traveled the road as well as those who still linger at the wayside will find much to interest them and probably much to help them in extending comfort and aid to other weary pilgrims. Since Cardinal Newman's "Apologia" many accounts have appeared of the various ways in which souls have been led into the Church; none seem exactly alike and all are interesting both to those who have traveled home and those children of the Church standing at the gates of the city to welcome their lately separated brethren.

EXEMPEL-LEXICON FUR PREDIGER UND KATECHETEN, der Heiligen Schrift, dem Leben der Heiligen und andern bewahrten Geschichtsquellen entnommen. Herausgegeben von *P. A. Scherer*, Benediktiner von Fiecht. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, besorgt von *P. Johannes Bapt. Lampert*, Doktor der Theologie und Kapitular desselben Stiftes, unter Mitwirkung mehrerer Mitbrüder. Erster Band: Arbitte bis Festtage (der "Bibliothek für Prediger" neue Folge, erster Band; des ganzen Werkes neunter Band). Freiburg and St. Louis: B. Herder. price, net, $3.60.

The purpose of this "Exempel-Lexicon," the first volume of which lies before us, is to supplement the eight volumes of Herder's "Preacher's Library" with a vast storehouse of historical illustrations grouped under the headings of the different topics of discourse. The idea is certainly an original one and will enable the preacher to add vivacity to his sermons. Nothing so takes the fancy of the audience as a judicious blending of anecdotes with the solid matter of the discourse. Sherer has drawn his illustrations from all sorts

of sources; principally, of course, from Holy Writ; next, from the Lives of the Saints, the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church; in fact, from every source, sacred and profane, which suited his purpose. There are few more brilliant examples of German industry.

ENCHIRIDION SYMBOLORUM ET DEFINITIONUM. Quae de Rebus Fidei et Morum. A Conciliis Oecumenicis et Summis Pontificibus emanarunt. In Auditorum Usum edidit *Henricus Denzinger*, Wirceburgensis Professor. Editio IX. Aucta et Emendata ab *Ignatio Stahl*, Parocho et in Univers. Wirceb. Theol. Professore. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, net, $1.50.

Denzinger's classical little "Hand-book of Symbols and Definitions in Matters of Faith and Morals," which went through five large editions during the author's lifetime and was known and loved throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, now appears in a ninth edition under the supervision of Professor Stahl, aided by the critics of all Germany. The greatest care has been taken by editor and printer to make the book as perfect as possible. Denzinger's "Enchiridion" is a little book which no theologian can get on without. The *Index Systematicus* at the end is extremely valuable.

SELF-KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-DISCIPLINE. By *B. W. Maturin*, formerly of Cowley, St. John, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 301. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and Bombay.

Father Maturin's book has already had a flattering reception from his friends and admirers in the United States, and their name is legion. It is many years since he left this country, and something from his pen seems to bring him back again. It does indeed in thought if not in person. This book might have been called "A New Growth in Holiness." Its purpose is to make men holy. But the purpose is worked out in a very practical manner. The author addresses every-day men and women, in the midst of modern environments. He speaks plain, direct language, and he draws his illustrations from the immediate surroundings. The result ought to be very good and lasting.

CHRIST, THE PREACHER. Sermons for Every Sunday of the Ecclesiastical Year. By *Rev. D. S. Phelan*, author of "The Gospel Applied to Our Times." B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. Price, net, $2.00.

The sermons in this second volume of Father Phelan possess the same praiseworthy qualities which we noticed in the previous volume.

They give the pith of the Sunday's Gospel without much affectation of rhetoric. If we had any suggestion to make it might be that a sermon ten pages in length is, to the average layman, a trifle too much for his ordinary Sunday diet. It is the short Gregorian chant, with a sermon not exceeding fifteen minutes, that is steadily increasing the popular attendance at the High Mass. A gifted preacher like Father Phelan might safely be permitted to extend the limit to twenty minutes.

STUDIES FROM COURT AND CLOISTER. Being Essays, Historical and Literary, Dealing Mainly with Subjects Relating to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By *J. M. Stone.* London and Edinburgh: Sands & Co. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, net, $3.50.

Under this caption Miss Stone has gathered together thirteen essays which have appeared in various magazines, one of them in our own. The talented writer wields a facile pen, and her articles, especially on Reformation subjects, are always accepted and read with pleasure. We are glad to see them once more in permanent form, thoroughly revised and enlarged, and bespeak for them a benevolent reception.

CHRIST THE PREACHER. Sermons for Every Sunday of the Ecclesiastical Year. By *Rev. D. S. Phelan.* St. Louis, Mo.: B Herder. Price, $2.00.

This is a second volume of sermons by the distinguished author of "The Gospel Applied to Our Times," which has been received with marked favor throughout the country and was lately commended in these columns. The present series maintain Father Phelan's reputation as a ready, practical and, though he affects no rhetoric, eloquent preacher.

MISSALE ROMANUM, ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Restitutum S. Pii V. Pontificis Maximi iussu editum. Clementis VIII., Urbani VIII., et Leonis XIII. autoritate recognitum. Editio septima post alteram uti Typicam a S. R. C. declaratam. Cum approbatione Sacr. Rituum Congregationis. 4vo. Neo Eboraci: Sumptibus et Typis Frederici Pustet. MDCCCCVI.

The latest reproduction of the *editio typica* is well worthy of the publishers. Substantially and handsomely bound, good paper and clear, artistic press work leave nothing to be desired. A feature worth noting is that the latest Masses are all to be found in their proper places, dispensing with the great inconvenience of loose leaves and feasts not in proper order.

MATILDA, COUNTESS OF TUSCANY. By *Mrs. Mary E. Huddy.* B. Herder, 17 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. Price, $3.25 net.

A well-told popular narrative of the life and fortunes of the great Countess, who in the stormy days of Pope St. Gregory VII. staunchly maintained the cause of the Church and of religious liberty. It is but just to the immortal heroine of Tuscany that the Catholic people should retain a lively sense of their indebtedness to her.

JESUS CRUCIFIED. Readings and Meditations on the Passions and Death of Our Redeemer. By *Rev. Walter Elliott,* of the Paulist Fathers. The Columbus Press, New York. Price, $1.00.

This is an extremely devotional and edifying series of meditations on the Passion of Our Lord, the ripe fruit of a life-long devotion to Christ Crucified. It is well adapted for readings to the people during the Mass in the Lenten season.

DER ROEMISCHE KATECHISMUS nach dem Beschlusse des Konzils von Trient fur die Pfarrer auf Befehl des Papstes Pius des Funften herausgegeben. Vierte verbesserte Auflage. Regensburg, Rome, New York and Cincinnati, Friedrich Pustet.

A beautiful edition, in two volumes, of the Roman Catechism in Latin and German.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS. Considerations and Meditations for Boys. By *Herbert Lucas, S. J.* B. Herder, St. Louis. Price, $1.00.

ATTITUDE OF CATHOLICS TOWARDS DARWINISM AND EVOLUTION. By *H. Muckermann, S. J.* Herder, St. Louis and Freiburg. Price, net, $0.75.

DAS GEISTLICHE LEBEN in Seinen Entwicklungsstuffen Nach der Lehre des Hl. Bernard. Quellenmaessig Dargestellt von *Dr. Joseph Ries.* Freiburg and St. Louis, Herder. Price, net, $2.35.

THE ASCENT OF MOUNT CARMEL. By *St. John of the Cross.* Translated by Davis Lewis, with a prefatory essay on "The Development of Mysticism in the Carmelite Order" by Benedict Zimmerman, O. C. D. 8vo., x.+21+388. Thomas Baker, London, England.

OUTLINES OF SERMONS FOR YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN. By *Rev. Joseph Schuen.* Edited by Rev. Edmund J. Wirth, Ph. D. 12mo., 451. Benziger Brothers, New York.

LECTURES, CONTROVERSIAL AND DEVOTIONAL. By *Father Malachy, C. P.* 12mo., 218. Benziger Brothers, New York.

LARGER CATECHISM. Part II. Prescribed by His Holiness Pope Pius X. Translated by Right Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, D. D., Bishop of Nashville. 12mo., 315. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York.

IN HARD DAYS and THE CONFESSOR AT COURT. From the German by *Rev. L. A. Reudter.* 12mo., 200. Society of the Divine Word, Techny, Ill.